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above far down to his camp. That far it would reach. "Only thus, Wegi'ceka, can you see me. What you ask of me (to see me face to face) I can not grant you. But, nevertheless, you may tell (your fellowmen) that you saw me." Thus he spoke to him. He did not bless him with war powers. Only with life did he bless him. 776 787 539

Then Wegi'ceka tried to draw a picture of the flash of light extending from the heavens to his camp, just as he had seen it, upon a cane. To that cane he sacrificed. The descendants of Wegi'ceka are using cane even to the present day.

ACCOUNT OF J.'S FASTING

When I reached the age of puberty my father called me aside and told me to fast. He told me that it was his fervent wish that I should begin to fast, so that I might become holy and invincible and invulnerable in war. I would become like one of those Winnebagoes of whom stories are told. In future generations the people would speak of me often. For these reasons he wished me to fast. He assured me that if I fasted I would really be holy and that nothing on this earth would be able to harm me. I would also live a very long life, he told me. I would be able to treat the sick and cure them. That holy I would be, he told me. If I acted in this way, my father told me, no person would dare to make fun of me and they would always be careful of the manner in which they addressed me, both because they respected me and because they were afraid of incurring my enmity. For these reasons my father counseled me to fast and to continue fasting from the late fall until spring. During that time I should fast without stopping. In the spring, however, I was to stop, because many bad spirits are about at that time and they might deceive me. If he thought that I was not doing enough fasting he would urge me on with words, saying, "My son, fast, because if you receive knowledge of anything (i. e., if you have been blessed repeatedly), nothing will be able to harm you. You will live long; and I want you to live long." In this way my father used to speak to me and in this way he used to plead with me in a piteous manner. "Remember," he used to say to me repeatedly, "that if you do not fast none of the spirits will bless you." 159 787 867

There was a hill near our place called the Place-where-they-keep-weapons. This hill was very high and it looked steep and rocky. It must have been a very holy place. There my father had lived (when he was blessed by the spirits). Within this hill lived the spirits that we call Those-who-cry-like-babies.[9] These spirits were supposed to have arrows and bows. There were supposed to be twenty of them in this hill. My father had control of these spirits. 159 787 776

[9] These spirits are the same as those generally known as the Horn'ka, or Those-without-horns.

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159 If he (my father) blessed a man he would do as follows: He would
789 take his bow and arrows and, holding them in both of his hands,
776 take the man around the hill and then into the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There he and the man he wished to bless let their breath pass into the middle of the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There stood a stone pillar and upon this stone pillar, at about arm's length, he drew the pictures of different animals. My father had only one arrow, but that arrow was a holy one. Then my father danced around the stone pillar and sang some songs, and when he was finished he began to breathe upon the stone pillar; and, walking around it, he shot it. When he looked at it, he saw that the stone had turned into a deer with large horns. This deer fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of times and the little spirits who were following him breathed with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done here. Then
[782] offer tobacco to us and you will be able to obtain whatever you wish."

159 "Now, my son, I want you to be able to do as I do. I want you
867 to be able to kill deer whenever you wish, and at any particular time." My father was a very good hunter and I wanted to be very much like him. I knew that what he was saying was true and that it would be good to follow his advice. I was also told that if I traveled around the hill where these spirits lived, then all earthly things would agree with me and that I would be the gainer thereby. If I did this, they told me, then I would never suffer any pains in my body and I would never be troubled in any way.

159 And this they told me about the ghost village—that when I go
787 there I will be able to steal a costly shawl from the spirits and be
775 able to escape with it; that then all the inhabitants of the ghost village would chase me, but that they would not be able to overtake me and would be compelled to turn back as soon as I reached the earth. In this ghost village there are no grown-up children.[1]

Now, all that I have spoken of, I dreamed. I really dreamed that I was stealing a costly shawl and that I would have plenty of them all the time. I dreamed that I would obtain ten or even more
787 shawls in one year and that I would not have to pay anything for
159 them. What the spirits meant by shawls was supplies. However,
795 all this took place before I ate the peyote. Since then I know that these things were not true, and that what I must depend upon is not supernatural power, but myself, and my own endeavors. Super-
[783] natural powers do not come from anywhere. They do not exist at all. The blessings I had received were not holy and I am not holy.

[1] He is evidently referring to the spirit home of the Hawk's, or Those who cry like babies.

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This I know now. The whole thing is untrue. Therefore I stopped using these supernatural powers some time ago.[a]

The old people made me fast so that I might obtain blessings, and that I might lead a life similar to that led by my ancestors. My father asked me to fast so that I might be of some help to my fellowmen as I grew up. It is through fasting that individuals obtain the power of curing disease and restoring a person to health again.

Spirits from above also came to me. They took me to the spirit-shaman village. As the shamans gathered around me they said that the blessing would be very difficult to give me. Then the shaman sitting far in front made himself holy and breathed upon me (i. e., performed the actions of a shaman when treating a patient). When he was finished, then he began to sing and all those in the lodge began to breathe, helping him. Then the second shaman made himself holy and began to breathe and sing. In this way four of them made themselves holy. They were showing me what to do when I came back to earth. If a person on earth is sick (this is what they meant), and is in an almost hopeless condition where no one else could cure him, then they would call for me and offer me tobacco with which I was to sacrifice to the spirits who had taught me.

Indeed I am holy. If a man is sick I can restore him to health. That is what I used to think. I really (had it been true) should have felt it, for I labored earnestly and honestly to be a holy person. Yet in spite of all my exertions I was very unfortunate. I had married twice and both of my wives and all my children died. Indeed, how could I ever consider myself a holy man (i. e., if I couldn't even cure my own wife and children of what value were my "supernatural powers")! For a long time I knew that, at least I should have known it.[a] (I was not holy.) Then I ate the peyote and now I really see myself as I am. Indeed I am not holy. My body is without a soul. I thought myself holy. So I have stopped the practice of the shaman.

[a] The informant had become a convert to the Peyote belief only a short time before he wrote down this account of his feeling, and it is interesting to see that, although he no longer believes in the efficacy of the supernatural powers, he still believes that they exist. Two years after this, however, the same informant explained them, as all the older members of the Peyote cult explain them, vaguely, as delusions, either caused by the abnormal condition of the youth while fasting or as snares of the devil.

[a] In the words "I should have known it" are summed up the essential change of attitude between the Peyote Winnebago and the older Winnebagoes. The latter, too, had observed the apparent failure of the supernatural powers on many occasions, but instead of attributing them to any diminution of efficacy in the "powers," attributed them, on the contrary, to a lack of exercising in the individual trying to use the "power," "in so far as they thought about it at all. But the essential difference between the two cults, to the older one and the Peyote, lies not so much in the logical conclusions their adherents have drawn from the failure of the "supernatural powers" to behave as they were expected to, as in the fact that the Peyote people make the failure of the "power" the subject of discussion and the old Winnebagoes accept the whole concept of "supernatural power" as such, and do not permit it to rise into their consciousness.

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R.'S FASTING.

(R. WAS A MEMBER OF THE BEAR CLAN)

159 787 776 There was a village near Big Lake (Lake Winnebago), and at this village the upper people and the earth people played lacrosse.[a] The Bear was the chief clan of the lower people, and those representing that side in the game defeated the representatives of the other side by sheer strength. Then one of the upper people said, "What effeminate fellows those Bear people are. They are very strong, but it would be much better if instead of being so strong in playing lacrosse they were strong when on the warpath." Thus he spoke. Then one of the Bear people (the one whose fasting is about to be described) felt very much grieved and went out into the wilderness to fast. His desire was to be blessed by those spirits who are in control of war, and in his longing to be blessed by them he cried bitterly. Soon he heard some one saying, "Do not cry any more, we have come after you from above. The spirits have blessed you. You are going to be taken to the lodge of your friends." When the young man got there he saw four men. They were called cannibals, and they were brothers. "Our friends have blessed you and we also bless you," said the four spirits. These four spirits were catfish. Then some white crane spirits said, "Our friends have blessed you. With spears they have blessed you. Indeed, for good reason was your heart sad (i. e., did you make yourself suffer while fasting). With victory on the warpath do we bless you. Here is your bundle. Here also are your spears and your bow and arrows. This bundle you must use when you go on the warpath. Here also are some songs to use when you start out and when you return. With these songs I bless you. Here they are:

[533] SONGS

Ho'ño k'ᵘiⁿe'djaʷe'dja rahi'jā?
Where they gathered, there did you go?
K'ire' hitcak'ire' ha'gixewi'ne.
Well, my friend, shout at it for him.

[789] "When the enemy is close upon you and aim their guns at you, if you sing these songs they will not be able to hit you. If you sing these songs then, those who gave you a name will honor you." Thus 776 752 159 787 we bless you. With life also we bless you."

[526] ARATCGE'KA'S FASTING[b]

Aratcge'ka, Left-handed-one, went out to fast. "A spirit I wish to bless me. I am fasting because I was told to do so. A shaman

[a] In playing lacrosse the upper and lower divisions were always pitted against one another.

[b] The reason is not quite clear here, but it is believed that he means that by singing one of these songs he will be victorious and be able to count coup or distinguish himself in some such way, and thus be worthy of being honored by his elders.

[c] This account of a fasting has been cast in a literary mould. It evidently relates to the fasting experiences of a well-known man.

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I would like to be. I would like to be able to treat people the way he does, and I have for that reason blackened my face and fasted for eight days." Then I was blessed and they (the messengers of the spirits) came after me. Up above, to a shaman spirit-lodge they took me. There I saw the chief, and he said to me, "What you desire, what you are thirsting yourself to death for, that you are to be blessed with. For that reason these people have brought you here. Here you are to give an exhibition of your powers. I am the one who has caused you to be brought here (i. e., blessed you), I am the ruler of this village and I sent for you to give you the following powers:

"If ever an Indian is sick, even if he is so sick that he is practically dead, I give you the power of restoring him to life. Now you are to show your powers. Here is a log so rotten and decayed that it is practically falling apart." Upon this you are to exert your power and show that you have been blessed. This is what the spirits meant when they blessed you." Then he walked around the log, breathed upon it, and spat water upon it, and it became human. Then he walked around it again and again spat water upon it, and it began to move. Then for the third time he spat water upon it and walked around it and it began to groan. Then he walked around it for the fourth time, and again spat water upon the log, and it got up and walked away. He had restored the log to life. Then the spirit said to him, "Man, with this power you are blessed. That for which you longed, that for which you fasted, you are blessed with. Giving-humans-life, thus the people will call you."

Then all the spirits who are above said as follows: "Brother-in-law," that you may live I am telling you this story."

In the wilderness I went, and there near an oval hill I sat down and wept. Below the hill lay a round lake and there I saw the rising dew coming in a fog. This first spread itself out over us, and then, in turn, shrank and became small. All this time I sat there weeping. There was something moving in the lake, but although I was looking in that direction I did not see anything. They (evidently the spirits) were sneaking up on me. Two (flames of) fire suddenly burst forth extending from above to the lake. Then a report like

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[a] This log is supposed to represent a human being in a similar condition—that is, practically on the verge of dissolution.

[b] The account is suddenly interrupted here to tell the listener why Ansagu'ka is telling the story of his fasting. The personal religious occurrences were very sacred and rarely told even to near relatives. As far as I know, they were only told before death or when a person was very ill, as in the present case. The purpose seems to have been to transfer the benefits of the blessing to the sick person and cure him in much the same way as is done when an accredited shaman goes through his entire performances. Of course, Ansagu'ka's blessing related directly to the curing of disease. But evidently it was believed that blessings connected with other powers were equally efficacious.

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756 that of a gun sounded. The two (spirits) were causing it. Suddenly
159 a great noise was heard. I kept right on crying, for I was trying
787 to be blessed. I sat there with staring eyes looking at the spirits.
776 "I must be receiving a blessing," I thought. I continued crying and after a short time it began to rain very much. "How is this," I thought to myself, "only a little time before it was so nice and now it is raining." Yet in spite of the rain no water seemed to fall upon me. "How is it," I thought, "here it is raining and yet no rain is falling upon me." Then I looked above and I saw that it was very cloudy, yet straight above me in a direct line the sky was blue. This blue spot was like a round object covering me as though it were an umbrella. The Thunderbirds were blessing me. With the blue sky, they were blessing me. Soon the noise stopped, and when I looked above I saw four (men) standing with packs upon their backs. These (the spirits) killed. Then they blessed me with the power of killing. They spoke to me and said, "Stop your crying. What you have longed for and fasted for, with that we have blessed you. Just as these four men have been killed, so you will be able to kill people. But you will also be able to restore them to life again. Upon your body now we will make a mark and those whom you wish to bless will be given an opportunity of selecting life for themselves,[1] so that, even when a person be practically dead he will be restored to health. What is above you, the blue sky, that we place on one of your fingers,[2] and with that we bless you. If the patient picks the finger with the mark upon it, he will live."

The Thunderbirds were the spirits speaking to me. They had spears and little war-clubs in their hands and (wreaths) made of flat cedar leaves upon their heads. Thus did four Thunderbirds bless me.

"Well, brother-in-law, I want you to live and I want you to pick life for yourself—i. e., pick the finger with the blue mark upon it. Do it carefully and do not attempt it when you are tired. Here are my four fingers and one of them has the blue sky upon it (i. e., the blue mark that betokens life). If you choose that, you will certainly live. You are the second person (to whom I have offered my fingers). Now do not miss it, for if you miss it you will surely die. Be careful, then, in picking it."

[155] Then the brother-in-law picked the little finger and Aratege'ka said, "Brother-in-law, it is good. You will live." Then he turned his little finger around and there a circular blue mark was visible.

ACCOUNT OF X.'S FASTING

159 The spirits can bless you with everything. My father used to
787 tell me how much he loved me and how much he wished me to fast.

[1] That is, a sick person will have to guess at the part of the body that has been blessed by the Thunderbirds, and if he guesses correctly he will become well.

[2] That is, we will place a mark made with blue sky upon your finger.

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He wanted me to fast all the time. I would therefore, to please him, fast off and on through the winter. The longest I ever fasted at any one time was six days. I was blessed by a yellow snake who lived near Medway, Wis. It was at that place that I fasted one winter. The spirit-snake that lives there blessed me with life and the right to draw bad blood from sick people (i. e., "cup blood"). These blessings are truly efficacious, but after they have been handed down to the next generation they lose their power (unless renewed). That same winter, not long before the beginning of spring, I fasted again for four days and early on the morning of the fourth day as I was walking along a ravine, crying and putting myself in a "pitiable condition," so that the spirits might take pity upon me, some one came to meet me. Up to this time, in spite of all my exertions and fastings, I had not been blessed by any of the spirits. The one who was coming toward me was walking very fast and when I stopped to look at him I saw that he was a man. His entire body was painted red and he wore an eagle feather on his head and garters around his legs. When he came near to me he said: "Human, I bless you. You may now go home and eat (i. e., break your fast). Every day I will bring the blessing of life to you. This also (I wish to tell you), if you think of me when you are in any difficulty, you will pass through it safely. The sick you will be able to heal through the blessing I give you. I am the Sun. Even if a day is cloudy, then know that I am keeping life for you beyond the clouds."

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HOW I. FASTED AND WAS BLESSED WITH A WAR-BUNDLE"

Our war-bundle is eight generations old. In the beginning my clansmen had no war-bundles. Whenever they had war, they had nothing from which to receive strength. The only powerful possession they had was fire. That was the only thing they carried when on the warpath. Soon they discovered that other clans had war-bundles and that they received them by fasting for them. So K'eres u'sak'a started to fast for one. He fasted from early autumn until summer and he received a blessing. Then he went to his father and told him, "Father, you told me to fast. Let us now go and see with what I have been blessed." So the old man accompanied his son.[b] When the old man got there he found a snake dried and dressed up and standing in an upright position. The snake had long hairs on its back, scattered here and there. The father on seeing it said, "My son, this is really too great. If you accept this and carry it with you on the warpath, you will not leave any human beings alive (i. e., you will always want to go on the

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[a] This is the account of the origin of a war-bundle claimed to be eight generations old.

[b] Evidently the spirit had told him to go to a certain place and that there he would find certain objects, namely, the material objects with which he had been blessed.

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787 778 [776] warpath)." The son therefore refused it, and went out to fast again. Then the spirits blessed him again and again he went to his father and asked to accompany him to the wilderness and see what blessings he had obtained. When they came to the wilderness[1] they found two wild cats (already stuffed) standing there and facing in opposite directions. Then the old man told his son again not to accept this blessing because it would be too powerful,[2] but the young man said, "This is the last blessing that I am going to get," and accepted it.

(What follows was obtained at a later time from the same informant and relating to the same blessing.)

The first blessing K'erex'u"'sak'a received was from the Thunderbirds. They dropped a flute and two feathers from heaven. But these he refused. The second blessing was also from the Thunderbirds. This time they told him to go to a certain place where he could see them himself. He went there and found four men sitting there broiling meat. They gave him a piece of meat. It was only when he fasted for the fourth time that he was blessed with a warbundle.

WHAT K. OBTAINED IN HIS FAST

● 159 776 787 [775] I never fasted much. I only fasted three times and I don't believe that I ever fasted for more than two days at a time. However, I never was blessed with anything (i. e., any object). I knew, however, that I came from the home of the Thunderbirds (i. e., that I was a reincarnated Thunderbird). My spirit father and mother[3] were Thunderbirds. The Thunderbirds are beings whose glance can penetrate any object. For that reason I also can do it. For instance, I have seen a man through a tree. This I did once during a thunderstorm when a man had sought shelter behind a tree

[1] Wherever the word "wilderness" is used all that is meant is an uninhabited place far away from the village.

[2] By "too powerful" the old man means that the feasts, offerings, etc., that would be necessary for so great a blessing would be quite beyond the means or the ability of the young man. It is to be remembered that the bestowal of a blessing does not in itself insure its efficacy, but that this can only be assured if the proper offerings and the proper emotional attitude accompany its subsequent use. Evidently the old man did not feel that the young fellow would be equal to the task. I have been told by many of the older Winnebagoes that when the old system was still intact the older people always, or at least as a rule, urged impetuous youths against taking upon themselves responsibilities that they might possibly not be able to fulfill, a very excellent device, it seems to me, for not multiplying the chances of failure and consequently the necessity of explaining them. However, one need not believe that this was the reason for the custom.

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[3] By "spirit father and mother" because when he lived with the Thunderbirds he was, of course, a spirit. It is quite impossible to determine whether he means that he was a human being who was living among the spirits as a spirit, or whether he was a spirit who had desired to become reincarnated as a human being. Originally, of course, there were no human beings, but only spirits, of whom a portion became permanently transformed into human beings. However, even very powerful shamans never claim more than three reincarnations, so that he can obviously not be referring to this primitive condition and is either referring to the fact that he is a Thunderbird residing temporarily on this earth, or—and this would be the more common form—a human being who lived for some time as a Thunderbird and then returned to earth. In the latter case one would expect him to obtain great blessings in his fast, and the fact that he did not and had nevertheless such great powers suggests that he is really a reincarnated Thunderbird.

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When I was ready to go down among the human beings (i. e., when I became reincarnated) I was given the power to overcome my enemies in battle. And this I have actually done. All the Thunderbirds have small war-clubs. I also had one when I came. Whenever I went on the warpath I made myself a war-club and used that only in battle. I believe that I was invulnerable. Whenever I got tired of living among human beings I knew I could return to the Thunderbirds. I thought I knew all this and that I had these powers. For that reason when I ate peyote I still held on to these beliefs for a long time, thinking that when I returned to the Thunderbirds inasmuch as they are above it would be the same as going to everlasting life, as the Peyote people said. Finally, one night, at a peyote meeting, in thinking over these things, I resolved to give them up. I could, nevertheless, not bring myself to do it. Then the peyote began to strangle me;[a] at least I thought so.

I also had the power of causing or stopping rain. All that I had to do was to offer tobacco to the Thunderbirds and make my request.

HOW A BEAR BLESSED A MAN[b]

Once a band of Winnebagoes used to give a feast to the bears. A bear had blessed one of their number with life and victory on the warpath.

It was a spirit-bear that had blessed him. The man was fasting and the spirit blessed him and said, "Human, I bless you. In war you will be able to do as you wish (i. e., you will be able to kill an enemy whenever you desire). The first time you go on the warpath you will come back with the fourth war honor; the second time you go on a warpath you will return with the third war honor; the third time you will return with the second war honor; and the fourth time you will return with the first war honor and receive the first prize, which you are to give to your sister." This is what the man "dreamed." He believed it and was happy. Then the spirit-bear said again, "Human, I said that I blessed you and I really mean it. Earthmaker created me and gave me control of many things. Human, I bless you. As many years as Earthmaker bestowed upon you, that number I also bless you with. You will reach the limit of the years that were granted you. With my body I also bless you. Whenever you are hungry and wish to kill a bear, pour a pipeful of tobacco for me. If then you go out hunting, you will be successful. Don't abuse the bears. I am the chief of the bears. I bless you. Never before have I blessed a human being, as long as I have lived here. As long as your descendants live on this earth, so long will this

[a] According to the Peyote people, if a member does not wish to do or tell something that he ought to, the peyote begins to strangle him until he finds no relief until he tells what is on his mind.

[b] This is really the "origin myth" of a bear feast.

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787 blessing last. Should your descendants perform the feasts in my honor well, I will bless them with life and victory on the warpath. Whenever you offer me tobacco I will smoke it. If you put on a kettle of food for me I will be thankful to you. When you put this [84] kettle of food on the fire and offer me tobacco see to it that you keep away menstruating women . . ."

HOW THE DAUGHTER OF MANK'ERRERA RECEIVED A BLESSING FROM HERRAND-GIVER *

787 The daughter of Mank'errera was fasting. She was his third
● 159 daughter. She decided to fast during the summer. In her fast she
776 was told that she was blessed and that on the following day a big deer would come across the waters for her to eat. Then she went to her father and said, "Father, I have been told to eat a big deer, and that to-morrow very early in the morning it will come out of the water." "It is good, my daughter. That deer has been given to you by the spirits and you may eat it."

Early the next morning a big deer came across the waters. "Let it be," the people said (to her). "As soon as it comes near we will chase it." So they got into a boat and chased it. Then they killed it and gave it to some other person instead of the young woman. "My daughter, what are you going to do? Are you going to eat the deer?" "No, father, if I were to eat the deer I would have killed it myself. But you people have killed it, so I will not eat any of it."

Then she rubbed some charcoal on her face and went to the place of fasting and said, "What you (the spirits) gave me others have taken away and eaten." Early in the morning she looked around toward the water. She was very weak, for she had not eaten for a long time. Nine days she fasted. She was saying to herself, "As soon as I see a deer I will tell the others and call my father." In the morning she went out in search of the deer. She was so weak that she could hardly crawl along. But she managed to reach the edge of the waters and, as she looked across, she saw a deer coming. So she immediately went to her father and told him. He got up immediately and, taking a spear, jumped into a boat, paddled, and speared it. Then the girl said, "Now I will eat." So they called her uncles, [782] Wolf and Elk.** When they came she put tobacco in their hands and said, "My uncles, I have offered tobacco to the different spirits and asked them to bless me. Now I am about to eat and I would

* The rest of the story is a description of a large feast and how, in spite of the ordering of the spirits how two accompanying women took part in the feast; how, thereupon, two bears suddenly appeared and killed them, and how for that reason the large feast was given up.

[114] ** This account has been cast in a literary mould, but there is no doubt that it represents a real fasting experience. It is included here principally because it contains a number of extremely interesting features.

* These are the names of Radin's friends.

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like to have you put some food in your mouths."[a] "My niece, it is good. You have indeed made yourself 'pitiable.' You have thirsted yourself to death and I, too, pity you. If any spirit has blessed you, he has done so with good reason. I, too, once thirsted myself to death and the spirits blessed me with life. With this life, my niece, I also bless you. I will gladly partake of your feast." Thus spoke Wolf. Then Elk said, "My niece, I, too, was told to fast: and in my fast the spirits blessed me with the power of having complete control over all my actions. This dream (i. e., the blessings I obtained) I now give to you.[a] With these blessings you will be able to live as you desire. I will now gladly partake of your food."

When they were through eating, she also ate, and then they all went home. After a while her father said to her, "My daughter, I am going to ask you a question. It is said that those who have been blessed might tell their dreams if they were asked." "All right," said the daughter, "I will tell you. Eight days I fasted and then the spirits blessed me. They told me that if at the end of four days I should place offerings south of the place known as the Big Eddy and situated down the stream the powers with which I had been blessed would be shown to me. The one who blessed me was the chief of the Wakṣi'ɛtɛ[a], the spirits who live in the earth. He said that Earthmaker had created him and given him great power; that he had placed him in charge of 'life.' In four days he told me, 'I will appear to you. The day on which I appear to you will be a perfect day. Whatever you wish to make for yourself, you may do. You will never be in want of anything, for you can make implements for yourself out of my body. With these I bless you, for you

[a] The food referred to here is the food called Hare-fashion Wafer-dreamer or Sweet-bread. It is often observed a man or woman who has been blessed is about to break his fast. At the feast it is customary, nay even obligatory, for the latter to narrate his blessing. However, these feasts have now been discontinued for so long a time that it is extremely difficult to obtain any complete information.

[a] The transference of certain blessings is very common, but, to my knowledge, it is rarely done in this manner. As a rule the person was unable to obtain blessings, he sought to offset this handicap in life by purchasing supernatural powers from some of his more successful fellow-men. However, these powers seem to be connected almost exclusively with medicines. That blessings such as those bestowed upon individuals during their fast, such as long life, invulnerability, hunting powers, etc., were transferred, does not seem probable, although it is, of course, possible. The writer was told of a number of cases where this seemed to have been the case, but on closer study it was conclusively shown that no real transference had taken place, but that in these instances where a person had said, "I transfer this and that dream to you," the transferrer had so suitably ordered the individual to whom the dream had been transferred actually fasted and obtained the same dream. An individual would in such a case always be careful to select as his "dream-body" one who would in all likelihood obtain the same dream. It is only in this sense that one might actually speak of a transference. In those instances where a man is blessed with supernatural powers that are to extend in all his priority duties what is really meant, namely, an infinite repetition of the same blessing, one that has, however, become so certain within definite limits that it might be considered automatic.

[a] The Wakṣi'ɛtɛ is known as the Underground Water-spirit. He is the chief of the Thunderbirds and is the one who gives the power to kill with lightning. He is also the chief of the Water-spirits and is the one who gives the power to kill with water. He is also the chief of the Earth-spirits and is the one who gives the power to kill with earthquakes. He is also the chief of the Air-spirits and is the one who gives the power to kill with storms. He is also the chief of the Fire-spirits and is the one who gives the power to kill with fire. He is also the chief of the Water-spirits and is the one who gives the power to kill with water. He is also the chief of the Earth-spirits and is the one who gives the power to kill with earthquakes. He is also the chief of the Air-spirits and is the one who gives the power to kill with storms. He is also the chief of the Fire-spirits and is the one who gives the power to kill with fire.

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have made yourself suffer very much* and my heart has been rent with pity for you. I bless you, therefore, with life, and this you may transmit to your descendants.' All this, father, the spirit said to me." "My daughter, it is not good. These spirits are trying to deceive you. Do not accept it. They will never bestow upon you what they have promised." "All right, father, but let me at least give them the offerings of deerskin, red feathers, and tobacco. I will not accept these blessings, for you forbid it."

Then after four days she took her offerings to the place where she was to meet the spirit and told him that her father had forbidden her to accept the blessing. "'You are not a good spirit,' he said." "He is right, for one side of my body is not good but the other is," answered the spirit. "That is the way in which Earthmaker created me." Thus the wak'ai'teu* spoke.* Then the woman looked toward the lake and she saw a tree standing in the water. The spirit climbed upon this tree and wrapped himself around it. Then he took a tooth and shot the tree and knocked it down." "This is what you would have been able to do," said the spirit. "The people would have respected you very much. You would have been able to cure weak or nervous people. But you did not listen to what I told you. You refused it."

FASTING EXPERIENCE

(INFORMANT, CLAN UNKNOWN)

A man fasted and was finally blessed. When he was to be blessed a spirit came after him. He came from the south. "Human," he said, "I was told to come after you." Then the man looked at him and he saw that it was a man speaking to him. So he went along with him. He did not go far before he came to a village and in the middle of this village he saw a long lodge. There he was taken and there he was blessed. The one that was in charge of the village blessed him first.

"I bless you with victory in wars. Whenever you go on the war-path and when you are about to make the rush, do not forget me. If you pour some tobacco for me and then fight, the enemy will not be able to kill you. I am in charge of wars."

* When people are blessed by the Water-spirits they make medicines from the bones of the spirits. They are also supposed to make what the Winnebagoes call "implements." What is actually meant by this term it is very difficult to state precisely. But it seems that they mean sharpened bones, etc., used in connection with the administration of magical medicines in painting the body, and in connection with shamanistic practices of all sorts. It is not common for other spirits beside the Water-spirits to bless an individual with the use of "his bones," but this is occasionally met with. In the trickster cycle the trickster, in one of his escapades, is supposed to put the skull of an elk, and he pretends the people that he is an elk spirit and blesses them and permits them to use his bones.

* This characteristic would seem to identify the wak'ai'teu with the thunder-gives, although it is possible that a number of Winnebago deities had such charm-receivers.

* This is a symbolistic representation of the powers she was given.

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So he spoke to him. "Thus will your life be. Look at yourself." 787
So he looked at himself and his hair was very white. As one who 159
had attained a full life he saw himself. "All that are within this 776
lodge bless you," the spirit continued. "You have come to the Buffalo village." This he was told, so he looked at the lodge full of people. And those whom he had seen up to that time as human beings now were buffaloes.

"Human, they bless you is why they went after you. Human, if anyone is weighted with life and a reasonable amount of tobacco is given, such a one would be able to do the following":

A dead man was placed in the middle of the lodge, and all of 787
those in the lodge tried their power, but none succeeded in restoring 159
him to life. At last the spirits let the man try it. So he tried. 776
When he arose, all those in the lodge began to make sounds and 756
when he began to exert his powers he sang buffalo songs. When he was through with these songs, he walked toward the dead man, in the middle of the lodge. He blew on him once, then again and again. Now the man began to open his eyes. Then he blew on him for the fourth time and he caused him to rise.

"Human, you have overcome all of us," said the buffalo chief. "Human, thus shall you ever do to people. If anyone is sick and the proper offerings are made to you, send some tobacco to our council lodge and I will remember you. You must send all the [782]
tobacco that is offered to you. I will remember it. This council lodge is given to you and to your posterity as long as it lasts. As long as the earth lasts that long your posterity will have occasions on which to pour tobacco. Whatever blessing they ask, we will bestow upon them while we smoke their tobacco. As many as are the kettles that they offer to us, we will never accept one without giving them a blessing. We are in control of wars; the Earthmaker has given us control of them, and if you ask for it we will give it to you. And if you ask for life we will bestow that blessing upon you and accept your offerings."

They also blessed him with plants for medicine. This is the way they did it. Each of the spirits caused him to see a plant and to [278]
know the purposes to which it could be put. They told him to make offerings to the plants whenever he gave a feast, so that the plants [782]
would become more powerful. They also blessed him with a drum. "This you must beat when you give a feast and it will tell us your [534]
wants. We will understand the drum. We will make your drum holy for you, and you must treat it as such," they told him. "You must keep it holy. Whenever you are on the warpath you must [726]
take it with you and it will help you. Human, your enemies you will overcome; your weapons only will be sharp if your posterity will never give up this ceremony." So they spoke to him. "Whenever 080

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159 So they spoke to him, "Whenever
787 you give this ceremony, no matter what blessing you ask, we will
776 bestow it upon you, when you offer tobacco. A flute you must also
[534 keep holy. You must make it yourself, so that it remains sacred."
[778 They also told him to make a war bundle. The Buffalo chief told
825] him this. So he made one out of a buffalo head and a buffalo tail.
These he made sacred so that people might offer tobacco to them.
This was done long ago and yet they still do it.

Then they told him that four differently colored buffaloes would bless him— a white one, a black one, a red one, and a yellow one.

After a while he was blessed the second time. This time the spirits came after him from above and took him to the home of a spirit buffalo. This is the one that blessed him.

"Earthmaker has placed me here," said the spirit, "and he has
[726 given me control of many things. Grandson, I bless you. I am in
782] control of war power, and if you ever go on the warpath don't forget me. If you pour a pipeful of tobacco for me before you go into battle, the enemy will only be able to shoot your shadow." Thus he spoke to him. "I will take your body, and in that way it will only be your shadow that the enemy will try to shoot with all their strength. You will be without a body, and how then can they hit you, being without a body?" This is what the spirit told him. So, therefore, whenever he went on the warpath it was impossible to kill him. For the spirit had said, "I am also in control of life and I will give you your life back, that you may control it. The spirits
[796 have given you a tobacco-pouring feast and whenever you give it,
782] remember that I wish to smoke also. When you pour tobacco for me I will grant you whatever you ask. If you ask for war, or if you ask for life, I will accept your tobacco. As long as this earth lasts I will smoke your tobacco and accept the kettle of food that you place on the fire for me."

Thus he spoke to him. The man, however, still kept on fasting, and finally the spirits came for him again. There in the middle of the earth lived a buffalo-ghost. There he went and the buffalo-ghost said to him: "I also bless you. You were given counsel and I who am a buffalo also counsel you. I am in control of many things. Earthmaker placed me here to live and he put me in control of many things. Human, look at me," he said. The man looked at him. Then he saw that his body was covered with flattened bullets. "Thus you will be," said the ghost to him. "It will be impossible to kill you, and you will attain to old age, and when you get tired of living you may do as you please. I give you the privilege of controlling yourself." Then he gave him a song and he caused him to see a war prize, a wampum. After a while he spoke to him as follows:

"I also will always smoke at your feast, and if a kettle is ever put on the fire for me, I will be thankful to you. Whatever the people

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ask of me I will always take it into consideration. If they ask for war or if they ask for life, remember that I have been given control of these things." Thus spoke the buffalo-ghost. There he received all the things with which he was blessed. 159 787 776

In the course of his life he made use of all his blessings. His first victory occurred when he went on the warpath for the first time. He had joined a war party and a fight occurred toward the evening of the same day. As he was walking along he suddenly saw a gun directed against him at close range. He jumped right and left, and in that way escaped being shot. Then the enemy tried to capture the one who had been blessed by the buffalo, holding him tightly by the arm. But he struck the enemy twice against an object and tore his stomach open. Then he walked away. As he was going he thought to himself, "Why did I not kill him outright?" So he went back with the intention of doing this, but as he approached the man the latter directed a gun against him. Thinking, however, that it was not loaded, he did not dodge, and he was shot. His breast was filled with shot and he was killed. But he did not remain dead long. He soon came to consciousness and sat up, uttering sounds like a buffalo. 159 787 776 726

Then he remembered that a buffalo ghost had blessed him. He had indeed said to him, "When you are about to fight do not forget me." He remembered this, so he exerted his power. All the blood that was in his stomach he vomited forth and felt better. Just then one of his relatives came along and asked him, "How have you been getting along?" and he answered, "I have killed one. There lies his body. Take his scalp for me." "All right," said his relative, and did what he had been told, and brought it to him, saying, "Here it is." A horse was there also, and this the relative likewise led away and started back to (the camp). When he met the war leader, the latter asked him, "How have you been making out?" He answered, "I give you these trophies," and handed the leader the scalp and the horse. "Ah, it is good," he said, and put a wampum belt on him. Then the war leader sang a song and started to run, and the buffalo-blessed one reminded himself of his blessing and went back also. He was all shot to pieces. But he did not die, for he had been blessed with power, so how could he die? The buffalo ghost he had seen with flattened bullets in his belt had fulfilled his promise, and the wampum belt that he had seen in his fasting had now become true. [727]

He went to many wars after this, but he was never harmed. He doctored many people and caused them to have more life. After a while he made a war bundle consisting of a flute that he had constructed himself, a buffalo tail, and a buffalo head. Then he made offerings to them. These many things he made sacred. Since then buffalo feasts have been given. [756] [778]

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J. B.'S FASTING EXPERIENCE

159 787 I fasted all the time. We moved back to a place where all the leaders used to give their feasts. Near the place where we lived there were three lakes and a black hawk's nest. Right near the tree where the nest was located they built a lodge and the war-bundle that we possessed was placed in the lodge. We were to pass the night there, my older brother and myself. It was said that if anyone [756] fasted at such a place for four nights he would always be blessed with victory and the power to cure the sick. All the spirits would bless him.

159 787 776 "The first night spent there one imagined himself surrounded by spirits whose whisperings were heard outside of the lodge," they said. The spirits would even whistle. I would be frightened and nervous, and if I remained there I would be molested by large monsters, fearful to look upon. Even (the bravest) might be frightened, I was told. Should I, however, get through that night, I would on the following night be molested by ghosts whom I would hear speaking outside. They would say things that might cause me to run away. Toward morning they would even take my blanket away from me. They would grab hold of me and drive me out of the lodge, and they would not stop until the sun rose. If I was able to endure the third night, on the fourth night I would really be addressed by spirits, it was said, who would bless me, saying, "I bless you. We had turned you over to the (monsters, etc.) and that is why they approached you, but you overcame them and now they will not be able to take you away. Now you may go home, for with victory and long life we bless you and also with the power of healing the sick. Nor shall you lack wealth (literally, 'people's possessions'). So go home and eat, for a large war-party is soon to fall upon you and as soon as the sun rises in the morning they will give the war whoop, and if you do not go home now they will kill you."

Thus the spirits would speak to me. However, if I did not do the bidding of this particular spirit, then another one would address me and say very much the same thing. So the spirits would speak until the break of day, and just before sunrise a man in warrior's regalia would come and peep in. He would be a scout. Then I would surely think a war party had come upon me, I was told.

Then another spirit would come and say, "Well, grandson, I have taken pity upon you and I bless you with all the good things that the earth holds. Go home now, for the war-party is about to rush upon you." And if I then went home, as soon as the sun rose the war-whoop would be given. The members of the war-party would give the war-whoop all at the same time. They would rush upon me and capture me and after the fourth one had counted coup, then

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they would say, "Now then, grandson, this we did to teach you. Thus you shall act. You have completed your fasting." Thus they would talk to me, I was told. This war-party was composed entirely of spirits, I was told, spirits from the heavens and from the earth; indeed, all the spirits that exist would be there. These would all bless me. They also told me that it would be a very difficult thing to accomplish this particular fasting.

So there I fasted, at the black hawk's nest where a lodge had been built for me. The first night I stayed there I wondered when things would happen; but nothing took place. The second night, rather late in the night, my father came and opened the war-bundle and taking a gourd out, began to sing. I stood beside him without any clothing on me except the breech-clout, and holding tobacco in each hand I uttered my cry to the spirits as my father sang. He sang war-bundle songs and he wept as he sang. I also wept as I uttered my cry to the spirits. When he was finished he told me some sacred stories, and then went home.

When I found myself alone I began to think that something ought to happen to me soon, yet nothing occurred, so I had to pass another day there. On the third night I was still there. My father visited me again and we repeated what we had done the night before. In the morning, just before sunrise, I uttered my cry to the spirits. The fourth night found me still there. Again my father came and we did the same things, but in spite of it all, I experienced nothing unusual. Soon another day dawned upon us. That morning I told my elder brother that I had been blessed by spirits and that I was going home to eat. However, I was not telling the truth. I was hungry and I also knew that on the following night we were going to have a feast and that I would have to utter my cry to the spirits again. I dreaded that. So I went home. When I got there I told my people the story I had told my brother; that I had been blessed and that the spirits had told me to eat. I was not speaking the truth, yet they gave me the food that is carefully prepared for those who have been blessed. Just then my older brother came home and they objected to his return, for he had not been blessed. However, he took some food and ate it.

That night we gave our feast. There, however, our pride received a fall, for although it was supposedly given in our honor, we were placed on one side (of the main participants). After the kettles of food had been put on twice, it became daylight.

HOW A MAN DEFIED DISEASE-GIVER

Once a man said, "Why do you always make offerings and feasts to the Disease-giver? What benefit has he ever been to you that you do it? If I were ever to see him, I would kick him off the earth. The only thing he can give you is disease."

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The author was fortunate enough to obtain an account by a well-known Winnebago shaman of his various reincarnations. 159 775 539

T. C.'s account of his two reincarnations.—I once lived in a party that numbered about 20 camps. When I had grown up to be a lad, although one not large enough to handle a gun, a war party attacked us and killed us all. I did not know, however, that I had been killed. I thought that I was running about as usual until I saw a heap of bodies on the ground and mine among them. No one was there to bury us, so there we lay and rotted.

I (i. e., my ghost) was taken to the place where the sun sets (the west). There I lived with an old couple. This place (spirit land) is an excellent place and the people have the best of times. If you desire to go anywhere, all that you have to do is to wish yourself there and you reach it. While at that place I thought I would come back to earth again, and the old man with whom I was staying said to me, "My son, did you not speak about wanting to go to the earth again?" I had, as a matter of fact, only thought of it, yet he knew what I wanted. Then he said to me, "You can go, but you must ask the chief first."

Then I went and told the chief of the village of my desire, and he said to me, "You may go and obtain your revenge (upon the people who killed your relatives and you)."

Then I was brought down to earth. I did not enter a woman's womb, but I was taken into a room. There I remained, conscious at all times. One day I heard the noise of little children outside and some other sounds, so I thought I would go outside. Then it seemed to me that I went through a door, but I was really being born again from a woman's womb. As I walked out I was struck with the sudden rush of cold air and I began to cry.

At that place I was brought up and I was taught to fast a great deal. Afterwards I did nothing but go to war, and I certainly took revenge for the death of myself and my relatives, that being the purpose for which I had come to earth.

There I lived until I died of old age. All at once my bones became unjointed, my ribs fell in, and I died the second time. I felt no more pain at death, then, than I had felt the first time.

This time I was buried in the manner used at that time. I was wrapped in a blanket and then laid in the grave. Sticks were placed in the grave first. There in the grave I rotted. I watched the people as they buried me.

As I was lying there, some one said to me, "Come, let us go away." So then we went toward the setting of the sun. There we came to a village where we met all the dead. I was told that I would have to stop there for four nights, but in reality I stayed there four years. The people enjoy themselves there. They have all sorts of dances

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775 of a lively kind all the time. From that place we went up to the
539 place where Earthmaker lived and there I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too, and, indeed, I was like one of them.

From that place I came to this earth again for the third time, and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

774 *The concept of the soul.* This concept is not clearly developed as a
775 separate entity among the Winnebago on account of their strong belief in reincarnation. Their notion of the soul is merged in that of the noncorporeal ghost who eventully comes to earth again.

THE COSMOLOGICAL IDEAS

772 The cosmological ideas are of two types those that are clearly of
773 a folkloristic origin and those that have been developed by shamanistic reinterpretations. To the former class belong all the creative acts of the tricksters and culture heroes, like *Wak'djuŋk'aga* and Hare, and to the latter the systematic creation of the world by Earthmaker.

What is probably the oldest form of the Winnebago cosmological notions is that concerned with the general destruction of the bad spirits by Hare and by such spirits as the Thunderbirds, Morning Star, etc., and the removal of obstacles. Often the present characteristics of the earth are formed accidentally, as, for instance, the origin of the valleys, mountains, and lakes, as given in the myth of "Holy One." Even in the thoroughly remodeled general origin myth, Earthmaker is not conceived of as having purposely created the world.

772 The Winnebago believed that there were four worlds, one beneath the other, presided over, respectively, by Earthmaker, Trickster (*Wak'djuŋk'aga*), Turtle, and Hare. Hare rules over the world on which man lives. There seems to be some confusion as to who rules over the last earth, because it is also definitely stated that Traveler (a Water-spirit) is in control of it.

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756 On the whole, it must be said that the main difference between
796 (a) and (b) of Part IV, setting aside the initiation, lies simply in the number of myths told and the greater length of the speeches.

Personal Accounts of Initiation

159 1. J. B.'s account: I was about 13 years and over when they told me
756 that they would make me a member of the medicine dance. I liked it very much. Some people do not like it at all when they are asked to join the medicine dance. I, however, liked it very much. The medicine dance I am going to join, they told me. Very much did my parents desire me to do it. If I wished to live a holy life, that is what I should do, they told me.

Then, when everything was in readiness for my initiation, we moved on to the village where the ceremony was to take place. At night they were to sing at the medicine dance, and they, my relatives, were to join in the singing with them. There they also preached to me. They told me that this rite, the medicine dance, was a good thing. I did not even then think that those who were to initiate me into the medicine dance would kill me when they shot at me, as was the popular belief.

Never had there been such a life, they said, as the one I was going to live, now that I was about to join the medicine dance. Never at any time would I have thought of such a life. Those who were about to make me join the medicine dance told me that the Indians, when they hear of it, will expect me to do great things, that they will speak well of me, and like me. That is all I can now think of concerning that matter.

Now, those who are about to make me join the medicine dance are preparing to show me the shells, and for this purpose they are taking me into the brush. There they, the elders, preached to me. I was not the least bit frightened when, after this, they prepared to shoot me with the sacred shell. Indeed, I was not the least bit worried about it, nor did I think to myself, "I wonder how it is going to be!" Then those who already belonged to the medicine dance, those whom I had dreamed of all this time, shot me. When they shot me I didn't die. That thought was in my mind; but when they shot me, as a matter of fact, I didn't even lose consciousness. Almost immediately I knew how to do it (i. e., to shoot). They liked it very much. Everything they told me to do I did immediately, nor was I backward about anything. The shaman liked it. Never had anyone learned as quickly as I had, they were saying. "That augurs well for him," they say. I thought then that the medicine dance was true.

When we returned from the brush I entered the lodge. Not in any direction did I look, not once did I speak, not once did I move around, not once did I change my position. Just as they told me

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to sit, that way I remained sitting. As many Indians as were gathered in the lodge, all of them, I failed to notice. Not once did I, by chance, permit my glance to wander from side to side. I was doing everything exactly as I was told. The shaman liked it.

Whenever thereafter a medicine dance was given I attended it. Whenever I went in at night I remained there until it was all over, not going out once. And during the day ceremony not once did I permit my glance to wander outside. Never did I permit myself to lie down from fatigue; nor did I permit my glances to wander outside, because there was much noise there, or because some people were doing funny things. Not even within the lodge did I glance. Indeed, I never allowed my glances to wander in any direction. All the holy things I was told to do, I did. This is a holy ceremony, and I was bashful in its presence.

If at any time any of my leaders in the medicine dance wished to give the ceremony I would stay in his house together with those who had been invited. I would do all the work for him, sing the medicine dance songs, etc. All the different things he was supposed to do, all that I would do for him.

When his wife cooked, I carried the water for her, I made the fire, and helped her with the dishes. All the work she liked to have done in the house, I did for her.

All the clothes I possessed I gave to him. Money I gave to him, and the food he needed I procured for him. Whenever he gave a feast, in addition to what he cooked, I would put a special pail of food on the fire for him. When he ate it he was thankful.

"My son, what do you think I possess, that you are doing all this for me!" But I continued; and when I killed a medium-sized buck I made a feast in his honor, and all the clothing he needed, I gave him. Then I also gave him a costly repeating rifle, the one I used in hunting. All these things I offered him. Then I gave him an eagle, so that he could make a medicine pouch out of it. Money I also gave him, and gourds. Thus I acted, feasting him and offering him gifts all the time. I worked for him all the time.

One day he said to me, "My son, you have been treating me very well. Even my own brothers never treated me the way you have been doing. I thank you. All my relations hate you, but don't pay any attention to them. You are from a different family and I am teaching you various things (that belong to them), they say. They want me to stop instructing you. My father left the medicine dance for me to take care of. I am in complete control of it. Not one of these people, my kindred, has ever done anything for me in their lives. My ancestors said that you are my relative for what you have done. I can not teach my relatives the details of this ceremony, as I would have done had they acted correctly. My knowledge of this ceremony belongs to you, for you have paid for it. My remote

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● 139 ancestors told their descendants, as it has passed down from mouth
756 to mouth to us, that whosoever pays careful attention to all that pertains to this ceremony, that whosoever has a good memory, he is the one to whom it should be taught. Thus they spoke.

"My son, you alone have been good to me," he said. "This ceremony you will learn. Our son, He-who-stands-on-a-cloud, and you have been kind to me. Both of you will live a long life. Never divide this ceremony in two. Never keep anything separate, but do, the two of you, counsel about everything. If one of you knows anything, tell it to the other. Two people are necessary to make the ceremony truly efficacious for either one. Never dislike one another.

"My younger brother, you are going to be a chief. No one else pays attention to this ceremony. You alone are doing it. If at any time I should leave your presence, when I am about to go I know that you, oh my son and brother, I will leave behind me, peacefully traveling along. Thus I will think as I am about to depart. Thus my ancestors told me."

Thus in trying to obtain information I made myself pitiable. I tried to be blessed. I performed all kinds of work. Even woman's work I did. Thus I kept myself in a pitiable condition, and for that reason my brother-in-law blessed me. He blessed me with the ceremony of his ancestors. He told it to no one else but to me; and if anyone else, at the present time, narrates the ceremony as told by our band, he is not telling you the truth. Up to the present time this ceremony was an Indian ceremony, and not a second time will I tell it to a member of the white race.

This ceremony molded me. I paid the most careful attention to it; I worshiped it in the best way I knew how. I was careful about everything in my life. I never drank. A holy life it was that I sought and most earnestly did I pray that I might live over again. That is what I yearned for. If I do everything that this ceremony enjoins upon me well, I will return to Earthmaker, they told me. This is what I wished. I was doing well as a medicine man and everyone loved me. This ceremony was made with love.

I knew all the songs. Indeed, the leader of the dance would make me sing the songs for him. As many medicine men as there were, they all liked me. I was not overbearing, but modestly did I comport myself right along. All the medicine men told me that I was doing very well, and they offered thanks in my behalf.

[113] 2. J. C.'s account of how he came to join the medicine dance: This is how it was. A grandmother of mine was the cause of it. She said that the Creator's son[a] was called the Hare; that he came on earth and brought life, she said. She said that whoever did this would live well, that their souls would always return to the place where the

[a] J. C. is a prominent member of the Peyote cult and, in common with other members of this cult, he has identified the Hare with Christ.

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Creator sits. The first thing that they did to me was this: They took me to a lodge at night; there they talked and sang. Then the second night the tobacco bundles were made; then the great old medicine men were given tobacco. After this came the four nights' preparation. Then came the great medicine dance. Then they went after those that were going to join, one at a time. They, the medicine men, were repeating what the Hare had done. When the Hare came on earth he performed certain actions, and that is what they were repeating now. Hare had visited the different spirits, it is said, looking for a means of life, it is said. The old medicine men possessed the good tidings that Hare had brought to this earth. That is what the people desired of Hare, it is said.

When they entered, the first person to whom tobacco had been given, i. e., the one first invited, entered first. Then the others followed in turn. Then he talked; then the one who initiated me expressed his thanks, saying, "You medicine men, this affair the Hare has given you, you are repeating in order to bless us. For that reason you have come. We ask you to give to this person whom we are about to initiate the life you have obtained for us. We ask that the newly initiated one travel along that road."

Then the first person spoke, and after that they all ate. When he was through they heated a stone. After that they all entered in regular order and I was asked to go in with them. Thus I entered the sweat-bath lodge. When I was inside they told me that the stone which they had heated was a spirit. "The life that he brought I should ask for," they told me. After that we went out again.

At night we entered again. Then at about 2 o'clock they took me out to the brush. Not until then was I to learn what the medicine men really did. When we got to the brush they made me sit down and the man who was initiating me turned me over to the others. He said, "I turn him over to you. Whatever the elders have taught you, that we desire you to tell him." When he finished the first one began to talk, saying, "It is good that you are such a person. Earthmaker must have willed it so. In the olden times if a person wanted to join the medicine lodge he could not do it until he was quite old." Then he continued preaching to me. When Earthmaker first came into the world and what happened after that, how he created all things: that he told me. He told me that Earthmaker created four worlds, in each of which he placed men and women; that the heavens we see represent the last man he created and the earth we are living on the last woman he created. Then he told how *Herecgunina* was created. The story is as follows: Earthmaker created man, whom he wished to put at the head of the world, but he did not make one of his legs quite right. Then he threw him down to the earth because when Earthmaker made anything wrong

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159 he never did it over again. *Herecgunina* lived on earth from that
756 time on, and it is said that he also created things. Indeed, it is said
881 that he was almost the equal of the Earthmaker. He made the people
868 very miserable. Then Earthmaker sent four of his sons (to save the
773 people). Hare alone, of all the four, accomplished what he had been sent out for. All the rest failed. Hare obtained life for the people upon this earth.

Then the man told how the medicine lodge had been founded; how all the spirits upon the earth and all those under the earth and all those above the earth gathered together. They brought life with them. Then the medicine bags began to come. First came the eagle. He came from above. Next came the hawk, and then the squirrel, etc. The otter was the last one. Then the old man stopped talking to me and another person began to admonish me. He told me how I was to conduct myself. Then he spoke to me of the medicine-lodge road (i. e., of life) and what happens after life.

159 The first thing that I would meet on the road would be bad birds
756 making a lot of noise. "Do not look at them," he told me. They
868 would let fly at me bad-smelling saliva and phlegm, but I was not
775 to turn around, he said. Then the road would become thickly covered with thorn bushes. It would seem almost impossible to untangle them. I was, however, not to pay any attention to them, he told me. On the road, fires would send their sparks toward me, but I was to pay no attention to them. After a while I would lose one of my relatives, but I was to keep right on. I was not to get angry nor to give up, and after a while the road would become thickly covered with poplars growing on each side. Then the hair on my temples would become gray. This is what would happen to me, he told me, if I paid close attention to this ceremony. After a while it would become foggy (i. e., my eyesight would grow dim. Then I would come to a hill, one of four hills. When I came to the last hill there I would see red cedar trees. This is what would happen to me if I paid close attention to this ceremony, he told me. My soul would return to Earthmaker and I would then be allowed to come back to this earth if I wanted to.

159 Then they gave me the object with which they shot themselves
756 the shell. They shot me. After that they made me try to do it,
796 and when I was able to shoot well, we all came back. It was now
881 daylight. Now they put clothes on themselves and arose. Those who were initiating me then spread upon the ground the things which had been brought. Then the leader spoke. He told me that he would put me on the medicine-dance road. Then they sat me down there and shot me. Then the clothes that I had on were taken off and I was given other clothes. I was now told that I was standing on the medicine-dance road. After that they danced all day. In the evening they stopped. Now this is what I did; this is all I can say. I greet you, my friends.

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In 1910 the cult already had a rather definite organization. There was, at every performance, one leader (pl. 54, a) and four principal participants. John Rave (pls. 5, b; 55, b), the Winnebago who introduced the peyote, was always the leader whenever he was present. On other occasions leadership devolved upon some older member. The four other principal participants changed from meeting to meeting, although there was a tendency to ask certain individuals whenever it was possible. The ritualistic unit, in short, is a very definite one, consisting of a number of speeches and songs and in the passing of the regalia from one to the other of the four participants.

During the early hours of the evening, before the peyote has begun to have any appreciable effect, a number of apparently intrusive features are found. These, for the most part, consist of speeches by people in the audience and the reading and explanation of parts of the Bible. After the peyote has begun to have an appreciable effect, however, the ceremony consists exclusively of a repetition of the ritualistic unit and confessions.

There is an initiation consisting of a baptism, always performed by John Rave. It is of a very simple nature. Rave dips his fingers in a peyote infusion and then passes them over the forehead of the new member, muttering at the same time the following prayer:

"God, his holiness."

This is what the Winnebago words mean, although some of the younger members who have been strongly permeated with Christian teachings translate the prayer into, "God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

Whenever the ceremony is performed in the open a fireplace in the shape of a horseshoe is made. At one end of this fireplace is placed a very small mound of earth, called by Rave "Mount Sinai," and in front of this a cross is traced in the earth. Upon the small earth mound are placed the two "chief" peyote, the Bible and the staff. The latter, called by Rave the shepherd's crook, is always covered with beadwork, and generally has a number of evenly cut tufts of deer hair on the end and at intervals along its length. The sacred peyote, known as *hupke* (i. e., "chief") are exceptionally large and beautiful specimens. They are regarded by a number of people, certainly by Rave, with undisguised veneration.

In addition to the above, there is found a large eagle feather fan, a small drum, and a peculiar small type of rattle. To my knowledge, this type was unknown among the Winnebago before its introduction by the peyote eaters.

JOHN RAVE'S ACCOUNT OF THE PEYOTE CULT AND OF HIS CONVERSION

During 1903-07 I was in Oklahoma with peyote eaters.

In the middle of the night we were to eat peyote. We ate it and I also did. It was the middle of the night when I got frightened, for

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159 794 276 786 a live thing seemed to have entered me. "Why did I do it?" I thought to myself. I should not have done it, for right at the beginning I have harmed myself. Indeed, I should not have done it. I am sure it will injure me. The best thing will be for me to vomit it up. Well, now, I will try it. After a few attempts I gave up. I thought to myself, "Well, now you have done it. You have been going around trying everything and now you have done something that has harmed you. What is it? It seems to be alive and moving around in my stomach. If only some of my own people were here! That would have been better. Now no one will know what has happened to me. I have killed myself."

Just then the object was about to come out. It seemed almost out and I put out my hand to feel it, but then it went back again. "O, my, I should never have done it from the beginning. Never again will I do it. I am surely going to die."

As we continued it became day and we laughed. Before that I had been unable to laugh.

The following night we were to eat peyote again. I thought to myself, "Last night it almost harmed me." "Well, let us do it again," they said. "All right, I'll do it." So there we ate seven peyote apiece.

Suddenly I saw a big snake. I was very much frightened. Then another one came crawling over me. "My God! where are these coming from?" There at my back there seemed to be something. So I looked around and I saw a snake about to swallow me entirely. It had legs and arms and a long tail. The end of this tail was like a spear. "O, my God! I am surely going to die now," I thought. Then I looked again in another direction and I saw a man with horns and long claws and with a spear in his hand. He jumped for me and I threw myself on the ground. He missed me. Then I looked back and this time he started back, but it seemed to me that he was directing his spear at me. Again I threw myself on the ground and he missed me. There seemed to be no possible escape for me. Then suddenly it occurred to me, "Perhaps it is this peyote that is doing this thing to me!" "Help me, O medicine, help me! It is you who are doing this and you are holy! It is not these frightful visions that are causing this. I should have known that you were doing it. Help me!" Then my suffering stopped. "As long as the earth shall last, that long will I make use of you, O medicine!"

This had lasted a night and a day. For a whole night I had not slept at all.

Then we breakfasted. Then I said, when we were through, "Let us eat peyote again to-night." That evening I ate eight peyote.

In the middle of the night I saw God. To God living up above, our Father, I prayed. "Have mercy upon me! Give me knowledge

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that I may not say and do evil things. To you, O God, I am trying to pray. Do thou, O Son of God, help me, too. This religion, let me know. Help me, O medicine, grandfather, help me! Let me know this religion!" Thus I spoke and sat very quiet. And then I beheld the morning star and it was good to look upon. The light was good to look upon. I had been frightened during the night but now I was happy. Now as the light appeared, it seemed to me that nothing would be invisible to me. I seemed to see everything clearly. Then I thought of my home and as I looked around, there I saw the house in which I lived far away among the Winnebago, quite close to me. There at the window I saw my children playing. Then I saw a man going to my house carrying a jug of whisky. Then he gave them something to drink and the one that had brought the whisky got drunk and bothered my people. Finally he ran away. "So, that is what they are doing," I thought to myself. Then I beheld my wife come and stand outside of the door, wearing a red blanket. She was thinking of going to the flagpole and was wondering which road she should take. "If I take this road I am likely to meet some people, but if I take the other road, I am not likely to meet anyone."

Indeed, it is good. They are all well—my brother, my sister, my father, my mother. I felt very good indeed. O medicine, grandfather, most assuredly you are holy! All that is connected with you, that I would like to know and that I would like to understand. Help me! I give myself up to you entirely!

For three days and three nights I had been eating medicine, and for three days and three nights I had not slept. Throughout all the years that I had lived on earth, I now realized that I had never known anything holy. Now, for the first time, I knew it. Would that some of the Winnebagoes might also know it!

Many years ago I had been sick and it looked as if this illness were going to kill me. I tried all the Indian doctors and then I tried all of the white man's medicines, but they were of no avail. "I am doomed. I wonder whether I will be alive next year." Such were the thoughts that came to me. As soon as I ate the peyote, however, I got over my sickness. After that I was not sick again. My wife had suffered from the same disease, and I told her that if she ate this medicine it would surely cure her. But she was afraid, although she had never seen it before. She knew that I used it, but nevertheless she was afraid of it. Her sickness was getting worse and worse and one day I said to her, "You are sick. It is going to be very difficult, but try this medicine anyhow. It will ease you." Finally she ate it. I had told her to eat it and then to wash herself and comb her hair and she would get well, and now she is well. Then I painted her face and took my gourd and began singing very much. Then I stopped. "Indeed, you are right,"

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she said, "for now I am well." From that day on to the present time she has been well. Now she is very happy.

Black Water-spirit at about that time was having a hemorrhage and I wanted him to eat the peyote. "Well, I am not going to live anyhow," he said. "Well, eat this medicine soon then and you will get cured." Consumptives never were cured before this and now for the first time one was cured. Black Water-spirit is living to-day and is very well.

There was a man named Walking-Priest and he was very fond of whisky; he chewed and he smoked and he gambled. He was very fond of women. He did everything that was bad. Then I gave him some of the peyote and he ate it and he gave up all the bad things he was doing. He had had a very dangerous disease and had even had murder in his heart. But to-day he is living a good life. That is his desire.

Whoever has any bad thoughts, if he will eat this peyote he will abandon all his bad habits. It is a cure for everything bad.

To-day the Indians say that only God is holy. One of the Winnebagoes has told me, "Really, the life that I led was a very bad one. Never again will I do it. This medicine is good and I will always use it." John Harrison and Squeaking-Wings were prominent members of the medicine dance; they thought much of themselves as did all the members of the medicine dance. They knew everything connected with this medicine dance. Both of them were gamblers and were rich because they had won very much in gambling. Their parents had acquired great possessions by giving medicines to the people. They were rich and they believed that they had a right to be selfish with their possessions. Then they ate peyote and ever since that time they have been followers of this medicine. They were really very ill and now they have been cured of it. Now if there are any men that might be taken as examples of the peyote, it is these three. Even if a man were blind and only heard about them he would realize that if any medicine were good, it is this medicine. It is a cure for all evil. Before, I had thought that I knew something but I really knew nothing. It is only now that I have real knowledge. In my former life I was like one blind and deaf. My heart ached when I thought of what I had been doing. Never again will I do it. This medicine alone is holy and has made me good and has rid me of all evil. The one whom they call God has given me this. That I know positively. Let them all come here; men and women; let them bring with them all that they desire; let them bring with them their diseases. If they come here they will get well. This is all true; it is all true. Bring whatever desires you possess along with you and then come and eat or drink this medicine. This is life, the only life. Then you will learn

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something about yourself, so come. Even if you are not told anything about yourself, nevertheless you will learn something of yourself. Come with your disease, for this medicine will cure it. Whatever you have, come and eat this medicine and you will have true knowledge once and for all. Learn of this medicine yourself through actual experience.

If you just hear about it you are not likely to try it. If you desire real knowledge about it try it yourself, for then you will learn of things that you had never known before. In no other way will you ever be happy. I know that all sorts of excuses will run through your mind for not partaking of it, but if you wish to learn of something good, try this. Perhaps you will think to yourself that it will be too difficult and this will seem an excuse to you for not trying it. But why should you act thus? If you partake of it, even if you feel some uncertainty about its accomplishing all the good that has been said of it, I know that you will say to yourself, "Well, this life is good enough." After you have taken it for the first time, it will seem as if they are digging a grave for you, that you are about to die; and you will not want to take it again. "It is bad," you will think to yourself. You will believe that you are going to die and you will want to know what is going to happen to you. The coffin will be set before you and then you will see your body. If you wish to inquire further about where you are going then you will learn something you have not known. Two roads there are, one leading to a hole in the earth and the other extending up above. You will learn something that you had not known before. Of the two roads, one is dark and the other is light. You must choose one of these while you are alive and so must you decide whether you wish to continue in your evil ways or whether you will abandon them. These are the two roads. The Peyote people see them. They claim that only if you weep and repent will you be able to obtain knowledge. Do not, as I said before, listen to others talking about it, but try the medicine yourself. That is the only way to find out. No other medicine can accomplish what this has done. If, therefore, you make use of it, you will live. After they have eaten peyote people throw aside all the (evil) ceremonies that they were accustomed to perform before. Only by eating the peyote will you learn what is truly holy. That is what I am trying to learn myself.

It is now 23 years since I first ate peyote, and I am still doing it (1913). Before that my heart was filled with murderous thoughts. I wanted to kill my brother and my sister. It seemed to me that my heart would not feel good until I killed one of them. All my thoughts were fixed on the warpath. This is all I thought of. Now

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159 Now
755 I know that it was because the evil spirit possessed me that I felt that
794 way. I was suffering from a disease. I even desired to kill myself:
276 I did not care to live. That feeling, too, was caused by this evil
[753] spirit living within me. Then I ate this medicine and everything changed. The brother and sister I wanted to kill before I became attached to and I wanted them to live. The medicine had accomplished this.

O. L.'s Description of the Peyote Cult

(Pl. 33, c)

159 John Rave belongs to the Bear clan, the members of which had
614 the functions of what might be called sergeants-at-arms. He and
[692 his ancestors used to be in charge of the *manupaki* (i. e., the ser-
68] geants-at-arms lodge), to which all malefactors would be brought for punishment.

159 Rave, although he belonged to this highly respected class of people,
794 was a bad man. He roamed from place to place. He has participated in all the ceremonies of the Winnebago, the medicine dance alone excepted. He had been married many times. Up to 1901 he was a heavy drinker. In that year he went to Oklahoma and while there ate the peyote. He then returned to the Winnebago and tried
[77] to introduce it among them, but none with the exception of a few relatives would have anything to do with it. This did not in any way discourage him, however, and he continued using the peyote, now and then getting a few converts.

159 There was not very much religion connected with it in the beginning
794 and the reason people drank it was on account of the peculiar effects
177 it had upon them. Nevertheless these Peyote people preached good things and gradually lost all desire for intoxicating drinks or for participating in the old Winnebago ceremonies. Then Rave began to do away with the old Indian customs. About four or five years ago the membership in the Peyote religion began to increase, for many people now noticed that those connected with the Peyote cult were the only people in the tribe leading a Christian life.

At this time the Bible was introduced by a young man named Albert Hensley (pls. 8, *d*; 9, *d*). He, too, had been a bad person, although he had been educated at Carlisle. Like Rave, he was a heavy drinker and fond of wandering.

During the last few years our members have increased so fast that now almost half the tribe belong to our religion. We all make efforts to lead a Christian life and we are succeeding very well.

794 We use the New Testament, especially the Revelations.

796 Our meetings take place at any time. We gather together in the
159 evening, and as soon as everything is in readiness the leader arises
[782] and offers a prayer called, "Turning themselves over to the care of the Trinity."

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the Trinity." Then all sit down and the leader makes the regular announcements. The peyote is then passed around, either in the dry condition or steeped. The leader thereupon starts the singing. These are some of the songs:

1. Ask God for life and he will give it to us.
2. God created us so pray to him.
3. To the home of Jesus we are going, so pray to him.
4. Come ye to the road of the Son of God; come ye to the road.

Then Albert Hensley calls upon 12 educated members to translate and interpret certain portions of the Bible for the nonreading members. He arranges with the leader to have the singing stop at certain places so that some of these young men can speak. When these are finished, other individuals are called upon to give testimony. Hensley always talks and so does Rave.

John Rave baptizes by dipping his hand in a diluted infusion of peyote and rubbing it across the forehead of a new member, saying, "I baptize thee in the name of God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which is called God's Holiness."

The peyote eaters wanted to get baptized and unite with the church in Winnebago, but the clergyman in charge would not permit them, so they went and did their own baptizing through their leader, John Rave, who, though he is not educated, is full of real intelligence and religion.

If a person who is truly repentant eats peyote for the first time, he does not suffer at all from its effects. But if an individual is bullheaded, does not believe in its virtue, he is likely to suffer a good deal. This I know from my own experience. After eating peyote I grasped the meaning of the Bible, which before had been meaningless to me.

If a person eats peyote and does not repent openly, he has a guilty conscience, which leaves him as soon as the public repentance has been made.

Old men and women who had been brought up to worship animals and all kinds of spirits have cast them all away and in many instances burned their idols, not because they were told to do so but because they felt that way.

Whenever at our meetings a person wishes to pray, he does so; when he wishes to cry, he does so. Indeed, we show no timidity about worshiping God in the right way. In the Bible one often reads of Christ casting out the devils and of the people shouting, etc. So does the peyote act on us in the beginning, although afterwards its effects abate.

If a peyote eater relapses into his old way of living, then the peyote causes him great suffering.

At first our meetings were started without any rule laid down by the Bible, but afterwards we found a very good reason for holding

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794 276 159 177 our meetings at night. We searched the Bible and asked many ministers for any evidence for Christ's ever having held any meetings in the daytime, but we could find nothing to that effect. We did, however, find evidence that he had been out all night in prayer. As it is our desire to follow as closely as we can in the footsteps of Christ, we hold our meetings at night. Then, too, when we pray we wish to get as far away as possible from earthly things, and the night is the best time, for then we are not likely to be bothered by anything.

We have made earnest efforts to become Christians since we began drinking and eating this peyote, but many people say sarcastically that we have drunk ourselves into Christianity, and that we are demented. I am a peyote eater, but I have never found a demented person among them. We claim that there is virtue in the peyote. To you who do not believe and desire to find out let me quote the fourth chapter of the First Epistle of St. John:

"Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world.

"Hereby know ye the spirit of God. Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God."

We claim that you can not find out anything by standing off at a distance and only talking about it. We claim that some earthly things can have the virtue of God, for instance, the Bible, which is entirely made up of earthly material—the ink, the paper, the cover—yet it has survived the ages.

J. B.'s Account of the Leader of the Peyote[1]

(PL. 3)

159 484 Among the Winnebago there is a man named Little-Red-Bird, and when he reached middle age he began to travel around the world and learn different Indian languages. He used to travel inland a good deal. Once he joined a circus and crossed the ocean. He felt [544] so ill while crossing that he wanted to die. Suddenly a wind came up and he got very frightened. He did not know what to do. Then he prayed to Earthmaker. When he came to the other side of the ocean there he saw a big island and a big city (London), and in this last place they hold their circus. The chief of that country (the king) he met there.

When he came back to his own people he told them that on the other side of the ocean the Thunderbirds did not thunder. All they did was to drizzle. There was no lightning either. As he crossed the ocean on his return it thundered and lightened.

[782] When he came home he was very glad to see his relatives and he offered tobacco in thanksgiving.

[1] The narrator was a very lukewarm follower.

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Shortly after this he traveled again and came to a band of Indians who were eating peyote. It was his custom to try everything when he went visiting. He did not realize what he was doing when he ate this medicine, but he did it anyhow. After a while he began to think of his manner of life, and he felt that he was doing wrong. All the evil he had done he remembered. Then he prayed to God. Suddenly it occurred to him, "Perhaps I am the only one doing this." Then he looked around and watched the others, and he saw them praying in the same manner.

Not long after that he came home, taking with him some of this medicine. He knew it was holy. At home he offered tobacco to it and kept on eating it. Soon it cured him of a disease he had. He tried to induce some of the others to try it, but they refused. After a while a few tried it, and the peyote movement began to spread. All the old customs that they had been accustomed to observe they abandoned. They gave up the medicine dance and the ceremonies connected with the clans. For that reason, therefore, the conservative people hated them; their own brothers and sisters hated them, for they had abandoned what were considered holy ceremonies.

Albert Hensley's Account of the Peyote[1]

(Pls. 8, d, 9, d)

I am 37 years old. It was 37 years ago that my mother gave birth to me in an old-fashioned reed lodge. When I was a year old she died and my grandmother took care of me. I had come into the world a healthy child, but bad luck was apparently to pursue me, for when I was 7 years old my grandmother died. Then my father took care of me. At that time he began to be a bad man; he was a drunkard and a horse thief. He would frequently get into trouble and run away, always taking me along with him, however. On one occasion we fled to Wisconsin, and there we stayed two years. We got along pretty well, and there my father married again. By his second wife he had three children.

After a while he got into trouble again, and misfortune followed misfortune. People were killing each other, and I was left alone. If at any time of my life I was in trouble it was then. I was never happy. Once I did not have anything to eat for four days. We had fled to the wilderness, and it was raining continually. The country was flooded with high water, and we sat on the top of a tree. It was impossible to sleep, for if we went to sleep we would fall off into the water, which was very deep. The shore was quite far away. As we were prominent people, we soon heard that my

[1] This account is of great importance, because Hensley introduced a large number of Christian elements into the ceremony, the principal one being the Bible.

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159 father had been freed. We were very happy, and went back to our people.

At that time a young man named Young-Bear was starting for Nebraska, and he said that he would take me along. I was very happy. So in that manner I was brought to this country. Here I have had only happy days. When my father got married everyone disliked me. When I worked I was working for my father, and all the money I earned I had to give to him.

After a while I went to school, and although I liked it I ran away and then went to school at Carlisle. I wanted to lead a good life. At school I knew that they would take care of me and love me. I was very shy and lacked a strong character at that time. If a person told me to do anything I would always obey immediately. Everybody loved me. I stayed there six months. I was also taught [177] Christianity there. When I came back to my country the Episcopalian people told me that they wanted me to be diligent in religious matters and never to forsake the religion of the Son of God. I also desired to do that. I entered the church that we had in our country and I stayed with them six years.

At that time the Winnebago with whom I associated were heavy [273] drinkers, and after a while they induced me to drink also. I became as wicked as they. I learned how to gamble and I worked for the devil all the time. I even taught the Winnebago how to be bad.

159 After a while they began eating peyote, and as I was in the habit 276 of doing everything I saw, I thought I would do it, too. I asked 794 them whether I could join, and they permitted me. At that time I had a position at the county commissioner's office. I ate the peyote and liked it very much. Then the authorities tried to stop the Indians from eating peyote, and I was supposed to see that the law was enforced. I continued eating peyote and enjoying it. All the evil that was in me I forgot. From that time to the present my actions have been quite different from what they used to be. I am only working for what is good; not that I mean to say that I am good.

After that I married and now I have three children, and it would not have been right for me to continue in my wickedness. I resolved that thereafter I would behave as a grown-up man ought to behave. I resolved never to be idle again and to work so that I could supply my wife and children with food and necessities, that I would be ready to help them whenever they were in need. Here in my own country would I remain till I died. This (peyote) religion was good. All the evil is gone and hereafter I will choose my path carefully.

I know the story about the origin of the peyote. It is as follows:

794 Once in the south, an Indian belonging to the tribe called Mes-
539 callero Apache was roaming in the country called Mexico, and went hunting in the high hills and got lost. For three days he went with-

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794 539 it used it for a purpose different from what it was intended.[1] They used it for war and for horse stealing. They, however, continued to eat the peyote, but they really ate too much of it. After a while the leader began thinking that the medicine might harm them, so he told them to hide it. The man did not know that even at that time a big war party was coming upon them. This tribe was almost destroyed.

They lost the peyote. One day, however, it was taught to a Comanche. He ate it and prayed to Earthmaker. Then it was taught to the Cheyenne and to the Arapaho and to the Caddo. The Tonkawa, the Apache, and the Mescallero Apache were the ones who had lost the medicine. When these other tribes began to eat this medicine they heard about it and they remembered that they also had long ago eaten it.

There was an old man in Oklahoma who knew the mescal country very well and he went down to old Mexico and stayed there for a year. When he returned he taught it to the Oto and the Oto taught it to us.

794 276 It is a true religion. The peyote is fulfilling the work of God and the Son of God. When the Son of God came to the earth he was poor, yet people spoke of him; he was abused. It is the same now with the peyote. The plant itself is not much of a growth, yet the people are talking about it a good deal; they are abusing it, they are trying to stop its use. When the Son of God came to earth the preachers of that time were called Pharisees and Scribes. They doubted what the Son of God said and claimed that he was an ordinary man. So it is to-day with the Christian Church; they are the Pharisees and Scribes, they are the doubters. They say that this is merely a plant, that it is the work of the devil. They are trying to stop its use and they are calling it an intoxicant, but this is a lie. If they will but come and see this ceremony they will realize this.

J. B.'s Peyote Experiences

●159 794 276 When my father and mother asked me to come to the Missouri River (Nebraska) I knew they had eaten peyote and I did not like it. I had been told that these peyote eaters were doing wrong, and therefore I disliked them; I had heard that they were doing everything that was wicked. For these reasons we did not like them. About this time they sent me money for my ticket, and since my brothers and sisters told me to go, I went. Just as I was about to start my youngest sister, the one to whom we always listened most attentively, said to me, "Older brother, do not you indulge in this medicine eating (peyote) of which so much is said." I promised. Then I started out.

[1] This is clearly Hensley's interpretation.

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As soon as I arrived (in Nebraska) I met some people who had not joined the peyote eaters and who said to me, "Your relatives are eating the peyote and they sent for you that you also might eat it. Your mother, your father, and your younger sister, they are all eating it." Thus they spoke to me. Then they told me of some of the bad things it was reported that these people had done. I felt ashamed and I wished I had not come in the first place. Then I said that I was going to eat the medicine.

After that I saw my father, mother, and sister. They were glad. Then we all went to where they were staying. My father and I walked (alone). Then he told me about the peyote eating. "It does not amount to anything, all this that they are doing, although they do stop drinking. It is also said that sick people get well. We were told about this and so we joined, and, sure enough, we are practically well, your mother as well as I. It is said that they offer prayers to Earthmaker (God)," he said. He kept on talking. "They are rather foolish. They cry when they feel very happy about anything. They throw away all of the medicines that they possess and know. They give up all the blessings they received while fasting and they give up all the spirits that blessed them in their fasts. They also stop smoking and chewing tobacco. They stop giving feasts, and they stop making offerings of tobacco. Indeed, they burn up their holy things. They burn up their war bundles. They are bad people. They give up the Medicine Dance. They burn up their medicine bags and even cut up their otter-skin bags. They say they are praying to Earthmaker (God) and they do so standing and crying. They claim that they hold nothing holy except Earthmaker (God). They claim that all the things that they are stopping are those of the bad spirit (the devil), and that the bad spirit (the devil) has deceived them; that there are no spirits who can bless; that there is no other spirit except Earthmaker (God)." Then I said, "Say, they certainly speak foolishly." I felt very angry toward them. "You will hear them, for they are going to have a meeting tonight. Their songs are very strange. They use a very small drum," said he. Then I felt a very strong desire to see them.

After a while we arrived. At night they had their ceremony. At first I sat outside and listened to them. I was rather fond of them. I stayed in that country and the young peyote eaters were exceedingly friendly to me. They would give me a little money now and then and they treated me with tender regard. They did everything that they thought would make me feel good, and in consequence I used to speak as though I liked their ceremony. However, I was only deceiving them. I only said it because they were so good to me. I thought they acted in this way because (the peyote) was deceiving them.

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159 794 276 Soon after that my parents returned to Wisconsin, but when they left they said they would come back in a little while. So I was left there with my relatives, who were all peyote followers. For that reason they left me there. Whenever I went among the nonpeyote people I used to say all sorts of things about the peyote people, and when I returned to the peyote people I used to say all sorts of things about the others.

I had a friend who was a peyote man and he said to me, "My friend, I wish very much that you should eat the peyote." Thus he spoke and I answered him, "My friend, I will do it, but not until I get accustomed to the people of this country." Then I will do it. The only thing that worries me is the fact that they are making fun of you. And in addition, I am not quite used to them." I spoke dishonestly.

I was staying at the place where my sister lived. She had gone to Oklahoma; she was a peyote follower. After a while she returned. I was then living with a number of women. This was the second time (there) and from them I obtained some money. Once I got drunk there and was locked up for six days. After my sister returned she and the others paid more attention than ever to me. Especially was this true of my brother-in-law. They gave me horses and a vehicle. They really treated me very tenderly. I knew that they did all this because they wished me to eat the peyote. I, in my turn, was very kind to them. I thought that I was fooling them and they thought that they were converting me. I told them that I believed in the peyote because they were treating me so nicely.

After a while we moved to a certain place where they were to have a large peyote meeting. I knew they were doing this in order to get me to join. Then I said to my younger sister, "I would be quite willing to eat this peyote (ordinarily), but I don't like the woman with whom I am living just now and I think I will leave her. That is why I do not want to join now, for I understand that when married people eat medicine (peyote) they will always have to stay together. Therefore I will join when I am married to some woman permanently." Then my brother-in-law came and she told him what I had said, and he said to me, "You are right in what you say. The woman with whom you are staying is a married woman and you can not continue living with her. It is null and void (this marriage) and we know it. You had better join now. It will be the same as if you were single. We will pray for you as though you were single. After you have joined this ceremony, then you can marry any woman whom you have a right to marry (legally). So, do join tonight. It is best. For some time we have been desirous of your joining but we have not said anything to you. It is Earthmaker's (God's) blessing to you that you have been thinking of this," said he.

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Therefore I sat inside the meeting place with them. One man acted as leader. We were to do whatever he ordered. The regalia were placed before him. I wanted to sit in some place on the side because I thought I might get to crying like the others. I felt ashamed of myself.

Then the leader arose and talked. He said that this was an affair of Earthmaker's (God's), and that he (the leader) could do nothing on his own initiative; that Earthmaker (God) was going to conduct the ceremony. Then he said that the medicine (peyote) was holy and that he would turn us all over to it; that he had turned himself over to it and wished now to turn all of us over to it. He said further, "I am a very pitiable (figure) in this ceremony, so when you pray to Earthmaker, pray also for me. Now let us all rise and pray to Earthmaker (God)." We all rose. Then he prayed. He prayed for the sick, and he prayed for those who did not yet know Earthmaker. He said that they were to be pitied. When he had finished we sat down. Then the peyote was passed around. They gave me five. My brother-in-law said to me, "If you speak to this medicine (peyote), it will give you whatever you ask of it. Then you must pray to Earthmaker, and then you must eat the medicine." However, I ate them (the peyote) immediately, for I did not know what to ask for and I did not know what to say in a prayer to Earthmaker (God). So I ate the peyote just as they were. They were very bitter and had a taste difficult to describe. I wondered what would happen to me. After a while I was given five more and I also ate them. They tasted rather bitter. Now I was very quiet. The peyote rather weakened me. Then I listened very attentively to the singing. I liked it very much. I felt as though I were partly asleep. I felt different from (my normal self), but when I (looked around) and examined myself, I saw nothing wrong about myself. However, I felt different from (my normal self). Before this I used to dislike the songs. Now I liked the leader's singing very much. I liked to listen to him.

They were all sitting very quietly. They were doing nothing except singing. Each man sang four songs and then passed the regalia to the next one. (Each one) held a stick and an eagle's tail feather in one hand and a small gourd rattle, which they used to shake while singing, in the other. One of (those) present used to do the drumming. Thus objects would pass around until they came back to the leader, who would then sing four songs. When these were finished, he would place the various (things) on the ground, rise, and pray to Earthmaker (God). Then he called upon one or two to speak. They said that Earthmaker (God) was good and that the peyote was good, and that whosoever ate this medicine (peyote) would be able to free himself from the bad spirit (the devil); for they said that

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159 Earthmaker forbids us to commit sins. When this was over they
794 sang again.
796 After midnight, every once in a while (I heard) someone cry. In
276 some cases they would go up to the leader and talk with him. He would stand up and pray with them. They told me what they were saying. They said that they were asking (people) to pray for them, as they were sorry for their sins and that they might be prevented from committing them again. That is what they were saying. They cried very loudly. I was rather frightened. (I noticed also) that when I closed my eyes and sat still, I began to see strange things. I did not get sleepy in the least. Thus the light (of morning) came upon me. In the morning, as the sun rose, they stopped. They all got up and prayed to Earthmaker (God) and then they stopped.

159 During the daytime I did not get sleepy in the least. My actions
276 were a little different (from my usual ones). Then they said, "To-
794 night they are going to have another meeting. Let us go over. They say that is the best (thing) to do and thus you can learn it (the ceremony) right away. It is said that their spirits wander
774 over all the earth and the heavens also. All this you will learn and see," they said. "At times they die and remain dead all night and all day. When in this condition they sometimes see Earthmaker (God), it is said." One would also be able to see where the bad spirit lived, it was said.

So we went there again. I doubted all this. I thought that what they were saying was untrue. However, I went along anyhow. When we got there, I had already eaten some peyote, for I had taken three during the day. Now near the peyote meeting an (Indian) feast was being given and I went there instead. When I reached the place, I saw a long lodge. The noise was terrific. They were beating an enormous drum. The sound almost raised me in the air, so (pleasurably) loud did it sound to me. Not so (pleasurable) had things appeared at those affairs (peyote meetings) that I had lately been attending. There I danced all night and I flirted with the women. About day I left and when I got back the peyote-meeting was still going on. When I got back they told me to sit down at a certain place. They treated me very kindly. There I again ate peyote. I heard that they were going to have another meeting near by on the evening of the same day. We continued eating peyote the whole day at the place where we were staying. We were staying at the house of one of my relatives. Some of the boys there taught me a few songs. "Say, when you learn how to sing, you will be the best singer, for you are a good singer as it is. You have a good voice," they said to me. I thought so myself.

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That night we went to the place where the peyote meeting was to take place. They gave me a place to sit and treated me very kindly. "Well, he has come," they even said when I got there, "make a place for him." I thought they regarded me as a great man. John Rave, the leader, was to conduct the (ceremony). I ate five peyote. Then my brother-in-law and my sister came and gave themselves up. They asked me to stand there with them. I did not like it, but I did it nevertheless. "Why should I give myself up? I am not in earnest, and I intend to stop this as soon as I get back to Wisconsin. I am only doing this because they have given me presents," I thought. "I might just as well get up, since it doesn't mean anything to me." So I stood up. The leader began to talk and I (suddenly) began to feel sick. It got worse and worse and finally I lost consciousness entirely. When I recovered, I was lying flat on my back. Those with whom I had been standing were still standing there. I had (as a matter of fact) regained consciousness as soon as I fell down. I felt like leaving the place that night, but I did not do it. I was quite tired out. "Why have I done this?" I said to myself. "I promised (my sister) that I would not do it." So I thought and then I tried to leave, but I could not. I suffered intensely. At last daylight came upon me. Now I thought that they regarded me as one who had a trance and found out something.

Then we went home and they showed me a passage in the Bible where it said that it was a shame for any man to wear long hair. That is what it said, they told me. I looked at the passage. I was not a man learned in books, but I wanted to give the impression that I knew how to read, so I told them to cut my hair, for I wore it long at that time. After my hair was cut I took out a lot of medicine that I happened to have in my pockets. These were courting medicines. There were many small bundles of them. All these, together with my hair, I gave to my brother-in-law. Then I cried and my brother-in-law also cried. Then he thanked me. He told me that I understood and that I had done well. He told me that Earthmaker (God) alone was holy; that all the things (blessings and medicines) that I possessed were false; that I had been fooled by the bad spirit (devil). He told me that I had now freed myself from much of this (bad influence). My relatives expressed their thanks fervently.

On the fourth night they had another meeting and I went to it again. There I again ate (peyote). I enjoyed it and I sang along with them. I wanted to be able to sing immediately. Some young men were singing and I enjoyed it, so I prayed to Earthmaker, asking him to let me learn to sing right away. That was all I asked for. My brother-in-law was with me all the time. At that meeting all the things I had given my brother-in-law were burned up.

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159 794 276 The fact that he (my brother-in-law) told me that I understood pleased me, and I felt good when daylight came. (As a matter of fact) I had not received any knowledge.

After that I would attend meetings every once in a while, and I looked around for a woman whom I might marry permanently. Before long that was the only thing I thought of when I attended the meetings.

On one occasion we were to have a meeting of men and I went to the meeting with a woman, with whom I thought of going around the next day. That was (the only) reason I went with her. When we arrived, the one who was to lead asked me to sit near him. There he placed me. He urged me to eat a lot of peyote, so I did. The leaders (of the ceremony) always place the regalia in front of themselves; they also had a peyote placed there. The leader placed a very small one in front of himself this time. "Why does he have a very small one there?" I thought to myself. I did not think much about it.

159 794 786 276 It was now late at night and I had eaten a lot of peyote and felt rather tired. I suffered considerably. After a while I looked at the peyote and there stood an eagle with outspread wings. It was as beautiful a sight as one could behold. Each of the feathers seemed to have a mark. The eagle stood looking at me. I looked around thinking that perhaps there was something the matter with my sight. Then I looked again and it was really there. I then looked in a different direction and it disappeared. Only the small peyote remained. I looked around at the other people but they all had their heads bowed and were singing. I was very much surprised.

Some time after this (I saw) a lion lying in the same place (where I had seen the eagle). I watched it very closely. It was alive and looking at me. I looked at it very closely, and when I turned my eyes away just the least little bit it disappeared. "I suppose they all know this and I am just beginning to know of it," I thought. Then I saw a small person (at the same place). He wore blue clothes and a shining brimmed cap. He had on a soldier's uniform. He was sitting on the arm of the person who was drumming, and he looked at every one. He was a little man, perfect (in all proportions). Finally I lost sight of him. I was very much surprised indeed. I sat very quietly. "This is what it is," I thought, "this is what they all probably see and I am just beginning to find out."

Then I prayed to Earthmaker (God) "This, your ceremony, let me hereafter perform."

As I looked again, I saw a flag. I looked more carefully and (I saw) the house full of flags. They had the most beautiful marks on them. In the middle (of the room) there was a very large flag and it was a live one; it was moving. In the doorway there was another

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one not entirely visible. I had never seen anything so beautiful in all my life before.

Then again I prayed to Earthmaker (God). I bowed my head and closed my eyes and began (to speak). I said many things that I would ordinarily never have spoken about. As I prayed, I was aware of something above me and there he was; Earthmaker (God) to whom I was praying, he it was. That which is called the soul, that is it, that is what one calls Earthmaker (God). Now this is what I felt and saw. The one called Earthmaker (God) is a spirit and that is what I felt and saw. All of us sitting there, we had all together one spirit or soul; at least that is what I learned. I instantly became the spirit and I was their spirit or soul. Whatever they thought of, I (immediately) knew. I did not have to speak to them and get an answer to know what their thoughts had been. Then I thought of a certain place, far away, and immediately I was there; I was my thought.

I looked around and noticed how everything seemed about me, and when I opened my eyes I was myself in the body again. From this time on, I thought, thus I shall be. This is the way they are, and I am only beginning to be that way. "All those that heed Earthmaker (God) must be thus," I thought. "I would not need any more food," I thought, "for was I not my spirit? Nor would I have any more use of my body," I felt. "My corporeal affairs are over," I felt.

Then they stopped and left, for it was just dawning. Then someone spoke to me. I did not answer, for I thought they were just fooling, and that they were all like myself, and that (therefore) it was unnecessary for me to talk to them. So when they spoke to me I only answered with a smile. "They are just saying this to me because (they realize) that I have just found out," I thought. That was why I did not answer. I did not speak to anyone until noon. Then I had to leave the house to perform one of nature's duties and someone followed me. It was my friend. He said, "My friend, what troubles you that makes you act as you do?" "Well, there's no need of your saying anything, for you know it beforehand," I said.

Then I immediately got over my trance and again got into my (normal) condition, so that he would have to speak to me before I knew his thoughts. I became like my former self. It became necessary for me to speak to him.

Then I spoke to him and said, "My friend, let us hitch up these horses and then I will go wherever you like, for you wish to speak to me and I also want to go around and talk to you." Thus I spoke to him. "If I were to tell you all that I have learned, I would never be able to stop at all, so much have I learned," I said to him. "However, I would enjoy telling some of it." "Good," said he. He liked

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159 794 276 it (what I told him) very much. "That is what I am anxious to hear," said he. Then we went after the horses. We caught one of them but we could not get the other. He got away from us and we could not find him. We hunted everywhere for the horse but could not discover where he had run to. Long afterwards we found it among the whites.

Now since that time (of my conversion) no matter where I am, I always think of this religion. I still remember it and I think I will remember it as long as I live. It is the only holy thing I have been aware of in all my life.

After that whenever I heard of a peyote meeting, I went to it. However, my thoughts were always fixed on women. "If I were married (legally) perhaps these thoughts will leave me," I thought. Whenever I went to a meeting now I tried to eat as many peyote as possible, for I was told that it was good to eat them. For that reason I ate them. As I sat there I would always pray to Earthmaker (God). Now these were my thoughts. If I were married, I thought as I sat there, I could then put all my thoughts on this ceremony. I sat with my eyes closed and was very quiet.

159 794 786 276 Suddenly I saw something. This was tied up. The rope with which this object was tied up was long. The object itself was running around and around (in a circle). There was a pathway there in which it ought to go, but it was tied up and unable to get there. The road was an excellent one. Along its edge bluegrass grew and on each side there grew many varieties of pretty flowers. Sweet-smelling flowers sprang up all along this road. Far off in the distance appeared a bright light. There a city was visible of a beauty indescribable by tongue. A cross was in full sight. The object that was tied up would always fall just short of reaching the road. It seemed to lack sufficient strength to break loose (of what was holding it). (Near it) lay something which would have given it sufficient strength to break its fastenings, if it were only able to get hold of it.

I looked at what was so inextricably tied up and I saw that it was myself. I was forever thinking of women. "This it is to which I am tied," I thought. "Were I married, I would have strength enough to break my fastening and be able to travel in the good road," I thought. Then daylight came upon us and we stopped.

159 794 276 Then I thought of a man I used to know who was an old peyote-man. He always spoke to me very kindly. I went over to see him. I thought I would tell him what had happened to me. When I arrived there he was quite delighted. It was about noon and he fed my horses and asked me to eat with him. Then when we were through eating, I told him what had happened to me. He was very glad and told me that I was speaking of a very good thing. Then (finally) he said, "Now I shall tell you what I think is a good thing

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(for you to do). You know that if an old horse is balky, you cannot break him of (this habit); even if you bought him and tried to break him (of this habit) you would not succeed. If, indeed, you succeeded it would only be after very hard work. However, if you had a very young horse, you could train it in any way you wished. So it is in everything. If you marry a woman who has been in the habit of marrying frequently, it would be difficult for her to break herself of a habit she loves. You are not the one she loves. If you marry her you will lead a hard life. If you wish to get married, take your time. There are plenty of good women. Many of them are at (government) schools and have never been married. I think you would do best if you waited for some of these before marrying. They will return in the middle of the summer. So, don't think of any of these women you see around here, but wait until then and pray to Earthmaker patiently. That would be the best, I think." I liked what he told me and thanked him. I decided to accept his advice, and I did not look around for women after that. I was to wait about three months and (during that time) I paid strict attention to the peyote ceremony.

On one occasion while at a meeting, I suffered (great pain). My eyes were sore and I was thinking of many things. "Now I do nothing but pay attention to this ceremony, for it is good." Then I called the leader over to me and said to him, "My elder brother, hereafter only Earthmaker (God) shall I regard as holy. I will make no more offerings of tobacco. I will not use any more tobacco. I will not smoke and I will not chew tobacco. I have no further interest in these. Earthmaker (God) alone do I desire (to serve). I will not take part in the Medicine Dance again. I give myself up (to you). I intend to give myself up to Earthmaker's (God's) cause." Thus I spoke to him. "It is good, younger brother," he said to me. Then he had me stand up and he prayed to Earthmaker (God). He asked Earthmaker (God) to forgive me my sins.

The next morning I was taken home. My eyes were sore and I could not see. They took me back to a house and there they put a solution of the peyote into my eyes and I got well in a week.

One night, when I was asleep, I dreamed that the world had come to an end. Some people Earthmaker (God) took, while some belonged to the bad spirit (the devil). I belonged to the bad spirit (the devil). Although I had given myself up (become a peyote-man), I had not as yet been baptized. That was why Earthmaker (God) did not take me. All those who belonged to Earthmaker (God) were marked, but I was not. I felt very bad about it when I woke up, although I had only dreamed about it. I felt very bad indeed. I wanted them to hurry and have another peyote meeting

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159 794 276 [788] soon. I could hardly wait until I reached the place where the next meeting was to take place. I immediately told the leader (what I wanted) and asked him to baptize me and he baptized me in the morning. After that morning I felt better.

Then I went to work and I worked with a railroad work-gang. I was still working when the time for the midsummer celebration approached. I always went to the peyote meeting on Saturday nights.

The old man was right in what he had told me. The girl students returned in the summer. Shortly (after they returned) a man, a friend of mine who had gone around with me, asked me if I wanted to get married. "Yes, I do," I answered. Then he said, "Listen, I have been thinking of something. What kind of a woman do you wish to marry?" I told him what I had in mind. Then he said, [584] "Come home with me. I have a younger sister. I want her to marry a good man; I would like to have her marry you," he said. Then I went home with him. When we got there (and discussed the matter) the girl gave her consent. The parents also consented.

So there I got married and what I expected has taken place and I have lived with her ever since. On one occasion, after she was used to me, she told me this. (Before she had married she had determined that) if she ever got married, she would not care to marry a very young man. "I wanted a man who ate peyote and who paid attention to the ceremony." Such a man she desired and such a man was I, she said. She loved me, she said, and she was glad that she had married me. This is what she had asked Earthmaker (God) in prayer. "And indeed it has happened as I wished," she said. She believed it was the will of Earthmaker (God) that we had done this, she said. She was therefore glad (that she had married me). Together we gave ourselves up (to the peyote) at a peyote meeting. From that time on we have remained members of the peyote (ceremony).

Many things are said under the influence of the peyote. The members (would) get into a kind of trance and speak of many things. On one occasion they had a peyote meeting which lasted two nights. I ate a good deal of peyote. The next morning I tried to sleep. I suffered a great deal. I lay down in a very comfortable position. After a while a (nameless) fear arose in me. I could not remain in that place, so I went out into the prairie, but here again I was seized with this fear. Finally I returned to a lodge near the lodge in which the peyote meeting was being held and lay down alone. I feared that I might do something foolish to myself (if I remained there alone), and I hoped that someone would come and talk to me. Then someone did come and talk to me, but I did not feel better, so I thought I would go inside where the meeting was going on. "I am going inside," I said to him. He laughed. "Alright, do so," said he. I went in and sat down. It was very hot and I felt as

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though I were going to die. I was very thirsty but I feared to ask for water. I thought that I was certainly going to die. I began to totter over.

I died, and my body was moved by another life. It began to move about; to move about and make signs. It was not I and I could not see it. At last it stood up. The regalia—eagle feathers and gourds—these were holy, they said. They also had a large book there (the Bible). These my body took and what is contained in that (book) my body saw. It was a Bible. The regalia were not holy, but they were good ornaments. My body told them that, and that if any person paid attention to Earthmaker's (God's) ceremony, he would be hearkening to what the Bible said; that, likewise, my body told them. Earthmaker's son (God's son) said that he was the only way. This means that one can only get life from the Word. (My) body spoke of many things and it spoke of what was true. Indeed it spoke of many things. It spoke of all the things that were being done (by the pagan Indians) and which were evil. A long time it spoke. At last it stopped. Not I, but my body standing there, had done the talking. Earthmaker (God) had done his own talking. I would be confessing myself a fool if I were to think that I had said all this, it (my body) told me.

After a while I returned to my normal human condition. Some of those there had been frightened, thinking that I had gone crazy. Others had liked it. It was discussed a good deal. They called it the "shaking" state. It was said that the condition in which I was, was not part of Earthmaker's (God's) religion. I was told that whoever ate a lot of peyote would, through the peyote, be taught the teachings of Earthmaker (God). Earthmaker's (God's) ways and man's ways were different. Whoever, therefore, wished to help this religion must give himself up (to it). If you ate a good deal of this peyote and believed that it could teach you something, then it assuredly would do so. That, at least, is the way in which I understand the matter.

Once we had a meeting at the home of a member who was sick. The sick would always get well when a meeting was held in their home, and that is why we did it. At that meeting I got into the "shaking" condition again. My body told (us) how our religion (peyote) was an affair of Earthmaker's (God's) and even if one knew only a portion of it, one could still see (partake of) Earthmaker's (God's) religion.

Thus it went on talking. "Earthmaker (God), His Son (Christ) and His Holiness (the Holy Ghost), these are the three ways of saying it. Even if you know one (of these three), it means all. Every one of you has the means of opening (the road) to Earthmaker (God). It is given to you. With that (your belief) you can open (the door

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159 794 276 to God). You can not open it with knowledge (alone). How many letters are there to the key (the road to God)? Three. What are they?" There were many educated people (there), but none of them said anything. "The first (letter) must be a K, so if a person said K, that would be the whole of it. But let me look in the book (the Bible) and see what that means," said the body. Then it (the body) took the Bible and began to turn the leaves. The body did not know where it was itself, for it was not learned in books. Finally in Matthew, chapter 16, it stopped. There it speaks about it. "Peter did not give himself up" (it says). "For a long time he could not give up his own knowledge. There (in that passage) it says Key." That is the work of Earthmaker (God). At least so I understand it. He made use of my body and acted in this manner, in the case of the peyote.

Then I go about telling (every one) that this religion is good. Many other people at home said the same thing. Many, likewise, have joined this religion and are getting along nicely.

On one occasion, after I had eaten a good deal of peyote, I learned the following from it: that all I had done in the past, that it had all been evil. This was plainly revealed to me. What I thought was holy, and (by thus thinking) was lost, that I now know was false. (It is false), this giving of (pagan) feasts, of holding (the old) things holy, the Medicine Dance, and all the Indian customs.

J. B.'s Account of His Conversion

I was at the old agency. There they were to try me for murder. At night, as I sat in jail, certain people came to me and told me that they had a gallon jug of whisky, and that if I was free that night, I should come and drink with them. They would wait for me. That same night there was a peyote meeting at John Rave's house and my brother Sam invited me to go there. Sam stood around there waiting for me. He was very low in spirits. He knew of the other invitation I had received and he told me that he would go with me wherever I went. I wanted very badly to go to the place where they had the liquor, and should have done so if Sam had given me the least chance. However, I could not get rid of him, so I decided to go to the peyote meeting. When I arrived there, we found just enough room in the center for myself and Sam. Sam sat at the right of me and John Bear at the left. In front of me there was some peyote infusion, and some peyote ground up and dampened.

As we sat there Sam began to cry and I began to think. I knew why Sam was crying; he wanted me to take some of the peyote. After a while I began to think of my own troubles. But I thought it wasn't the proper way of taking it just because I was in trouble.

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Then I thought of the other peyote eaters, how much they must be wanting me to take it. After a while I spoke to Sam and said, "I am going to eat this medicine, but . . ." Then I began to cry. After a while he tried to get me to say the balance, but I couldn't. I drank some of the solution. As the others saw that I was willing to take it they gave me a big ball of dampened peyote. However, I didn't like that and I asked for some more peyote in the dry state. I sat there asking for more and more peyote. This I kept up all night. When morning came I stopped. Just then Harry Rave got up to speak, and no sooner did he get up than I knew exactly what he was going to say. This must be the way of all peyote eaters, I thought. I looked around me; and suddenly I realized that all those within the room knew my thoughts and that I knew the thoughts of all the others. Harry Rave spoke and finished his speech; but I had known it all before he said a word. Then A. Priest, who was leading the meeting, arose and asked the rest to get up, so that they might turn themselves over to Christ. I also rose; but when I got up I was seized with a choking sensation. I couldn't breathe. I wanted to grab hold of Bear and Sam, but I didn't, thinking that I was going to stand whatever was coming to me. When I made up my mind to that, I felt relieved. Then I knew what the real meaning of turning one's self over to Christ meant.

In the morning they stopped the meeting and everyone seemed happy and glad. I, however, was very serious and wondered why they were all laughing. Every once in a while they would come and talk to me. I wondered why they did it, when they knew what was going on within me. For that reason I wouldn't answer them.

That week there were four meetings, and I went to all of them and ate very much peyote. The fourth meeting was at the usual place, John Rave's house. I sat with Sam as usual. At night I became filled with peyote. All at once I heard a voice saying, "You are the one who is to tell of the medicine dance." And I thought that Sam was speaking to me, so I turned around and looked at him, but he hadn't said a word. Soon I realized that nobody near me had said anything, and I began to think, "Why should it be I? Why not one of the others?" I rather pushed the idea from me; but no sooner had I done so than I began to have a tired and depressed sensation. This passed all over me. I knew that if I got up with the sincere purpose of giving in to the power that was wanting me to speak of the medicine dance I should be relieved. However, for some reason, I know not why, I felt like resisting.

The next morning I asked to be baptized, and said that I would thereafter have nothing more to do with offerings to the spirits;

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159 794 276 that I would not give any more feasts; and that I would not have any more to do with the medicine dance. From that day on I quit all my old beliefs. I did not feel like saying all this, for indeed my heart was turned just the other way, but I couldn't help it, for I was filled with the peyote.

From that time on, at every meeting that I attended, I could not rid myself of the idea that I must tell of the medicine dance. At all such times a feeling of heaviness would come over me. There I would be with but one thing on my mind; should I, or should I not, tell of it? I did not want to, and thought of all sorts of excuses that I was not a member of the Nebraska division, etc.

I was in this frame of mind while living with John Walker. There I received word that I would be wanted to tell of the medicine dance. From that moment I could not rest easy. I went to the barn and prayed and wept, asking that God might direct me. I went about but could not sit quiet. My wife stayed around me crying. As I stood there, someone drove up with a white team. Then I thought of all the unhappiness I would cause to members of the medicine lodge if I told the secrets of the medicine dance; and I asked myself if it really would not be a sin to cause so much misery. The man who was driving the white team was John Baptiste, and he told me that I was wanted to tell of the medicine dance. I got ready and entered the buggy. I was still crying and praying. Then it occurred to me that I would like to see John Rave. No sooner had I thought of this than John Rave appeared in the road. I got out and shook hands with him and told him where I was going and for what purpose, and asked him what he thought of the matter. He began to thank me for the work I was going to do and said, "This is what we should try to do, to help one another and to work for our Creator." Then he thanked me again. Perfect happiness now came over me and I went to Sioux City and got married legally. From now on I was entirely filled with the desire to tell all that I knew about the medicine dance. "This must be the work assigned to me by the Creator," I thought; and yet I have rejected the idea all the time.

On Paul's last trip, although I had not finished the translation, I didn't care to have any more to do with it, and said that somebody else should finish the work, my excuse being that I was busy. So, as soon as I heard that Paul had come, I packed up and hurried out west as quickly as possible, for I knew that he would bother the life out of me if he found me. However, no sooner had I reached the home of my friend than I was seized with an attack of rheumatism, with which I had never been afflicted before, and the next morning Paul appeared with a wagon to take me back to Winnebago. Now I know that the telling and the translation of the medicine dance is my mission in life, and I am willing to tell all to the full extent of my knowledge.

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JESSE CLAY'S ACCOUNT OF THE ARAPAHO MANNER OF GIVING THE PEYOTE CEREMONY WHICH HE INTRODUCED AMONG THE WINNEBAGO IN 1912

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I went to Oklahoma once as the guest of an Arapaho Indian. While there I witnessed the Arapaho manner of holding a peyote meeting and was very much impressed with it. A year later this Arapaho came to visit me in Winnebago, and while he was with us a few of my friends urged me to hold the peyote ceremony according to the Arapaho method. I held several meetings at which my Arapaho friend led.

Now these are the instructions that Arapaho Bull gave me.

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The person giving the ceremony must get up at sunrise so that he can tell exactly where the sun is going to rise. He must place a stick and make the drawing of a cross on the earth just in that direction from which the sun is about to rise. He does this in order to get the correct location for the tipi and the fireplace. Then he marks a circle around the cross. Then he makes a diagonal mark through the center of the circle, thus making the circle resemble a star. The circle is the outline of the tipi. Then another diagonal mark is made so that the drawing resembles, to their minds, a peyote. A fireplace which resembles a half-moon is placed right in the center of the lodge. After that the tipi poles are raised, 12 in number. Finally the whole is inclosed in canvas. When finished it is supposed to represent the earth. It is then ready to be entered. Special preparations are made for entering. The drummer with his drum and the leader and those behind him with all their regalia march up to the door. Before these enter, however, an attendant, called the fireman, spreads sage all over the lodge, from the seat of the leader to the door and back again. Then he starts a fire, always placing the left fire sticks first. When they are all thus lined up outside of the door the leader offers a prayer.

"May the Creator be with us when we enter this lodge."

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The leader now enters and, proceeding along the left side of the lodge, marches to his seat, and there he stands with his drum until the lodge is filled. After all have entered they sit down. Then the fireman who sits to the right rekindles the fire. The leader now spreads out his articles—a gourd, a drumstick, a staff, and the feathers. He then takes 12 sage leaves and lays them out in the form of a star, first making a cross-shaped object and then filling this into the desired form. On top he places the peyote, and, leaning against that, he places a flute made of an eagle bone, the mouth of the flute resting against the peyote. Then he puts an otter-skin cap at the foot of the flute. After a while the leader takes the peyote he is going to use in one hand and some cedar needles in the other,

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pagan ceremonies. In 1910 this delegation of leadership was clearly a recent tendency, conditioned, on the one hand, by the size of the reservation and the impossibility of Rave's being everywhere, and, on the other hand, by Rave's frequent absence on proselytizing missions. In 1913 it had already become customary for a number of men to hold the position of leader even when Rave was present. A further complication was introduced when Jesse Clay began giving the peyote ceremonies in the Arapaho manner, for he then stood in the same relation to his method of giving the ceremony as Rave stood to the older form. As we shall see, there was, even in 1908, a separatist movement led by Albert Hensley, which, if it had succeeded, would have given Hensley the same leadership that Rave enjoyed before him and that Clay subsequently acquired.

Development of the Ritualistic Complex

From the accounts given by various members of the Peyote cult it is quite clear that Rave became interested in the peyote on one of his many trips to Oklahoma. According to the verbal account he gave, which differs in some respects from the account he subsequently dictated on the particular visit which resulted in his first eating the peyote, he was in a most distressed and unhappy condition of mind owing to the loss of his wife and children.[8] He went away from Winnebago with the intention of staying away as long as possible from the scene of his loss.

Rave's account of his conversion gives a sufficiently dramatic picture of how he first ate the peyote and its immediate effects. In response to numerous questions as to how he was first induced to eat the peyote he always said that it was because he had been so frequently asked. It is, however, far more likely that he was passing through an emotional crisis at that particular time, and the requests that he partake of it and the inducements held out to him, made it easier for him to succumb then than on his previous visits.

To judge from Rave's remarks, his first belief in the peyote had nothing of the nature of a conversion to a new religion. It seems to have been similar to the average Winnebago attitude toward a medicinal plant obtained either as a gift or through purchase. There is only one new note—stimulation by a narcotic.

Rave states that the peyote cured him of a disease with which he had been afflicted for a long time. After repeated requests his wife also consents to being treated; so he paints her face and, taking the rattle, sings peyote songs while she eats the peyote. His attitude

[8] In the account Rave himself gives he speaks of seeing his wife and children. As his verbal statement was corroborated by other people, we are inclined to believe that in his dictated account of his conversion he had forgotten the actual state of affairs. It may, of course, be that in his ardent desire to show the marvelous effects of the peyote he permitted his memory to play him false.

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794 throughout, both from his own testimony and from that of others,
● 159 seems to have been practically the attitude of the Winnebago shaman. He even offered tobacco to the peyote.

We have, then, at the beginning the introduction of apparently only one new element—the peyote, with possibly a few Christian
[177] teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned there was hardly anything new at all. This view does not, of course, interfere in the least with the fact that to the Winnebago themselves the presence of the peyote represented the introduction of a new element.

The elaboration of the peyote practices at Rave's hands is the most difficult problem to trace on account of the lack of data. In the account that he gives of his conversion there is no evidence whatsoever of any antagonistic attitude toward the old Winnebago manner of living. When the author met him, however, for the first time, in 1908, this passive attitude had changed to one of violent hatred for the old Winnebago customs. Why and under what circumstances
[182] this change took place we do not know. It probably represented the interaction of many elements, the hostility of the tribe, the drawing of issues sharply around certain points, and the gradual
[192] assumption on the part of Rave of the rôle of a prophet who had solved the problem of the adjustment of the Winnebago to the surrounding white civilization. Offhand, one might be inclined to believe that Rave's insistence upon breaking with the past was due entirely to the influence of the Christian elements incorporated in his new religion. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether such an assumption is necessary. There seem to have been comparatively
[177] few Christian elements in the religion before Albert Hensley's influence had made itself felt, yet many of the old war bundles had been destroyed long before that time, and the peyote eaters were looked upon with cordial dislike by the conservative members of the tribe. The admonition that only a complete break with the past could save the Winnebagoes and enable them to compete successfully with the white intruders had been given to the Winnebagoes once before by the famous Shawnee prophet. What the latter claimed, however, was that the various sacred objects used by the Winnebago had lost their power, and that that power must now be renewed. This he
[182] thought could only be done by returning to the old manner of living which he claimed the Winnebago were no longer following. Such a claim was, after all, not revolutionary. It is not, therefore, the break with the Winnebago present-day viewpoint that characterizes Rave's attitude, but the fact that instead of returning to the older, purer

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life as the Shawnee prophet proposed to do, he substituted an alien religion. It was because he was introducing an alien religion, not because he was introducing a new religion, that he was so intensely hated by the conservative members of the tribe.

When this hostility was at its height a new convert, Albert Hensley, revolutionized the entire cult by introducing the reading of the Bible, postulating the dogma that the peyote opened the Bible to the understanding of the people, and also adding a number of Christian practices. He, like Rave, had been in Oklahoma. He brought back with him many peyote songs, generally in other languages, dealing with Christian ideas, upon which subsequently Winnebago songs were modeled. He also introduced either baptism itself or an interpretation of baptism, and induced Rave to attempt a union with the Christian Church. He seems to have been the only prominent man connected with the peyote who was subject to epileptic fits. He had the most glorious visions of heaven and hell while in his trance, and these he expounded afterwards in terms of Revelation and the mystical portions of the New Testament. Hensley's additions represent a second stratum of borrowed elements, all of which are in the nature of accretions as far as the peyote itself is concerned. The Bible is explained in terms of the peyote. Neither Hensley nor his followers ever interpreted the peyote in terms of the Bible, although other elements of the old Winnebago culture were so interpreted. These elements, however, represented features that even in the old Winnebago cults exhibited a great variability in interpretation.

Rave's attitude toward the innovations of Hensley seems to have been that of a benevolent acquiescence. He himself could neither read nor write. Yet he immediately accepted the Bible and added it to his other regalia. As such it always seems to have remained. To Rave, after all, the peyote was the principal element, and if Hensley chose to insist that the Bible was only intelligible to those who partook of the peyote why that naturally fell within its magical powers. From the entire omission in Rave's account of the Peyote cult of the more important things that Hensley introduced and from the fact that whenever Hensley's influence was not dominant there seems to have been little Bible reading, it seems justifiable to say that Rave's attitude toward these innovations was merely passive.

There never was any rivalry between Rave and Hensley. The latter was, however, a much younger man, quick-tempered, conceited, dogmatic, and withal having a strong mixture of Puritan Protestant ideas. A conflict developed after a while and in a very interesting manner. Rave had allowed a man with an extremely bad reputation, who had been admitted as a member of the Peyote cult, to occupy one of the four positions. Hensley violently pro-

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578 794 159 tested, on the ground that a man of X.'s character could not properly perform the rites associated with that position. Rave, however, retorted that the efficacy of the peyote, of any position connected with its cult, was in no way connected with the character of the performer, and that it was inherent in the peyote and in the Peyote ritual. Thereupon, after much parleying to and fro, Hensley formally seceded, taking with him a number of followers. The bulk of the peyote eaters, however, remained with Rave, and within a comparatively short time a number of Hensley's followers returned to Rave, so that in 1911 Hensley had merely a handful of people. Since then he has ceased to be a force, although his innovations have been retained by a number of the younger Peyote members, especially by those who read English.

In 1911 there was no unification of the ideas of Rave and Hensley. Since then, strange to say, although Hensley's attempt to set up his own religion failed utterly, his ideas and Christain innovations seemed to have triumphed completely. This, however, has gone hand in hand with a marked dropping off of enthusiasm. It appears now as if the Peyote cult has run its course. Some of the members have recently returned to the old pagan customs, others have practically become Christians, and many have become indifferent.

177 176 794 177 159 Unquestionably the most interesting of recent innovations is that introduced by Jesse Clay, the account of which has been given before. This is, of course, the Arapaho manner of conducting the ceremony. At the present time it has none of the characteristics of the Winnebago ceremonial. Whether in the next few years it will develop any depends upon the interest manifested in it by the Peyote worshipers and upon the vitality of the Peyote movement in general.

It is extremely suggestive to compare what Rave introduced with the ceremony borrowed by Clay. The former introduced an isolated element, the peyote and its worship, and clothed it almost immediately in characteristic Winnebago forms. It can truly be said that although the peyote is an alien element, from the Winnebago viewpoint, everything else in the ceremony is and was from the beginning typically Winnebago. Clay's method of conducting the Peyote ceremonies, on the other hand, is entirely alien. For it ever to become popular with the large mass of Winnebago it will have to become thoroughly assimilated with the Winnebago background.

Dissemination of the Doctrine

Let us now see how the ideas of Rave and Hensley were transmitted in the tribe itself, who the first and the later converts were, in what the nature of their conversion consisted, and what they, in turn, brought to the new cult.

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The first and foremost virtue predicated by Rave for the peyote was its curative power. He gives a number of instances in which hopeless venereal diseases and consumption were cured by its use; and this was the first thing one heard about it as late as 1913. In the early days of the Peyote cult it appears that Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote. The main point apparently was to induce people to try it. No amount of preaching of its direct effects, such as the hyperstimulation induced, the glorious visions, and the feeling of relaxation following, would ever have induced prominent members of the old Winnebago religious societies to try it. For that reason it is highly significant that all the old members of the Peyote cult speak of the diseases of which it cured them. Along this line lay unquestionably its appeal for the most converts. Its subsequent spread was due to a large number of interacting factors. One informant claims that there was little religion connected with it at first, and that the people drank the peyote on account of its peculiar effects.

The manner in which it spread at the beginning was simple and significant viz, along family lines. As soon as an individual had become a peyote eater he devoted all his energies to converting other members of his family. From instances that have come to our notice this lay in an insistent appeal to family ties and personal affection. A man showed unusual courtesy, showered innumerable favors upon relatives he was anxious to convert, and thereby earned the gratitude of the recipient, who at some critical moment, let us say, such as illness or mental depression, showed it by partaking of the peyote. The same methods were employed in the more general propaganda. The author knows of Peyote people who drove many miles in order to be present at the bedside of some old conservative who was ill, perhaps neglected by his relatives; bring him food, and spend the night with him in the most affectionate solicitude. They always had sufficient tact and understanding of human nature not to obtrude their purpose on the sick man too much. To the casual observer their object seemed simply that of a Samaritan. They would hardly have admitted that behind all their solicitude lay the desire to obtain a new convert. They would have claimed that their only purpose, over and above their sincere desire to comfort the sick man, was to demonstrate to their fellow Winnebago what changes the peyote had wrought in them. In this way the patient drew the inference, an inference that was likely to be drawn all the more quickly and forcibly when he contrasted the behavior of these Peyote nurses with that of his pagan relatives. The author was fortunate enough to obtain a fairly complete account of a conversion, illustrating both these features.

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[For the text of the autobiography of Crashing Thunder, see category 116, pp. xvi-xxv, 1-33, 40-41, 56-69, 74-111, 125-200, 202-203.]